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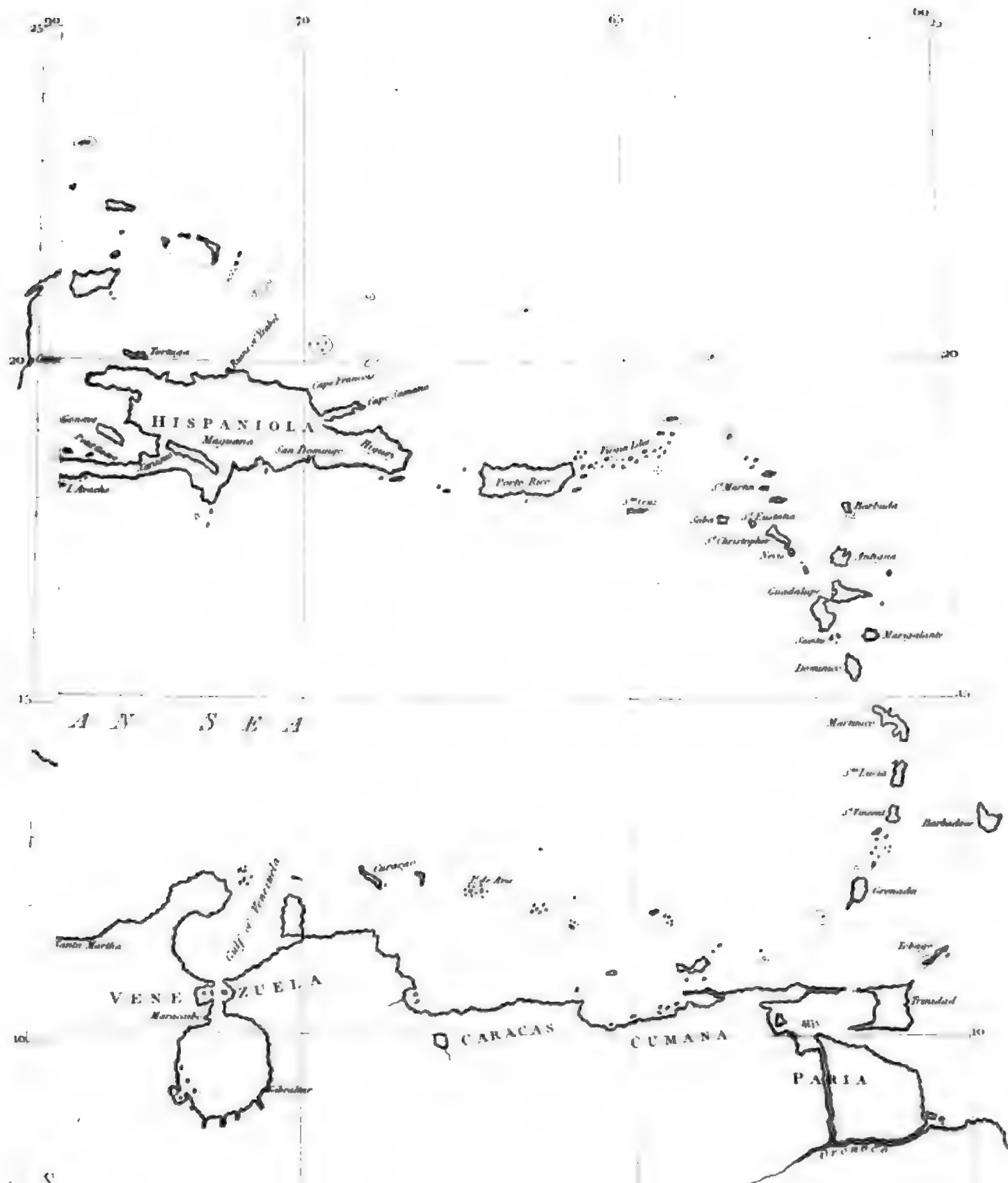












A  
CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES  
IN THE  
SOUTH SEA  
OR  
PACIFIC OCEAN.

VOLUME IV,

To the Year 1723, including a History of  
THE BUCCANEERS OF AMERICA.

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BY JAMES BURNEY, F.R.S.

CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

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H I S T O R Y  
OF  
T H E B U C C A N E E R S  
OF  
A M E R I C A.

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CHAPTER I.

*Considerations on the Rights acquired by the Discovery of Unknown Lands, and on the Claims advanced by the Spaniards.*

**T**HE Accounts given by the Buccaneers who extended their enterprises to the *Pacific Ocean*, are the best authenticated of any which have been published by that class of Adventurers. They are interspersed with nautical and geographical descriptions, corroborative of the events related, and more worth being preserved than the memory of what was performed. The materials for this portion of Buccaneer history, which it was necessary should be included in a History of South Sea Navigations, could not be collected without bringing other parts into view; whence it appeared, that with a moderate increase of labour, and without much enlarging the bulk of narrative, a regular history might be formed of their career, from their first rise, to their suppression; and that such a work would not be without its use.

CHAP. I.

VOL. IV.

B  
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No

## CHAP. I.

No practice is more common in literature, than for an author to endeavour to clear the ground before him, by mowing down the labours of his predecessors on the same subject. To do this, where the labour they have bestowed is of good tendency, or even to treat with harshness the commission of error where no bad intention is manifest, is in no small degree illiberal. But all the Buccaneer histories that hitherto have appeared, and the number is not small, are boastful compositions, which have delighted in exaggeration: and, what is most mischievous, they have lavished commendation on acts which demanded reprobation, and have endeavoured to raise miscreants, notorious for their want of humanity, to the rank of heroes, lessening thereby the stain upon robbery, and the abhorrence naturally conceived against cruelty.

There is some excuse for the Buccaneer, who tells his own story. Vanity, and his prejudices, without any intention to deceive, lead him to magnify his own exploits; and the reader naturally makes allowances.

The men whose enterprises are to be related, were natives of different European nations, but chiefly of *Great Britain* and *France*, and most of them seafaring people, who being disappointed, by accidents or the enmity of the Spaniards, in their more sober pursuits in the *West Indies*, and also instigated by thirst for plunder as much as by desire for vengeance, embodied themselves, under different leaders of their own choosing, to make predatory war upon the Spaniards. These men the Spaniards naturally treated as pirates; but some peculiar circumstances which provoked their first enterprises, and a general feeling of enmity against that nation on account of their American conquests, procured them the connivance of the rest of the maritime states of *Europe*, and to be distinguished first by the softened appellations of Freebooters and Adventurers, and afterwards by that of Buccaneers.

*Spain,*

*Spain*, or, more strictly speaking, *Castile*, on the merit of CHAP. I.  
a first discovery, claimed an exclusive right to the possession  
of the whole of *America*, with the exception of the *Brasils*,  
which were conceded to the Portuguese. These claims, and  
this division, the Pope sanctioned by an instrument, entitled a  
Bull of Donation, which was granted at a time when all the  
maritime powers of *Europe* were under the spiritual dominion  
of the See of *Rome*. The Spaniards, however, did not flatter  
themselves that they should be left in the sole and undisputed  
enjoyment of so large a portion of the newly-discovered coun-  
tries; but they were principally anxious to preserve wholly to  
themselves the *West Indies*: and, such was the monopolising  
spirit of the Castilians, that during the life of the Queen Ysabel  
of *Castile*, who was regarded as the patroness of Columbus's  
discovery, it was difficult even for Spaniards, not subjects born  
of the crown of *Castile*, to gain access to this *New World*,  
prohibitions being repeatedly published against the admission  
of all other persons into the ships bound thither. Ferdinand,  
King of *Arragon*, the husband of Ysabel, had refused to  
contribute towards the outfit of Columbus's first voyage,  
having no opinion of the probability that it would produce him  
an adequate return; and the undertaking being at the expence  
of *Castile*, the countries discovered were considered as appen-  
dages to the crown of *Castile*.

If such jealousy was entertained by the Spaniards of each  
other, what must not have been their feelings respecting other  
European nations? 'Whoever,' says Hakluyt, 'is conversant  
' with the Portugal and Spanish writers, shall find that they  
' account all other nations for pirates, rovers, and thieves,  
' which visit any heathen coast that they have sailed by or  
' looked on.'

*Spain* considered the *New World* as what in our law books

CHAP. I.

is called Treasure-trove, of which she became lawfully and exclusively entitled to take possession, as fully as if it had been found without any owner or proprietor. *Spain* has not been singular in her maxims respecting the rights of discoverers. Our books of Voyages abound in instances of the same disregard shewn to the rights of the native inhabitants, the only rightful proprietors, by the navigators of other European nations, who, with a solemnity due only to offices of a religious nature, have continually put in practice the form of taking possession of Countries which to them were new discoveries, their being inhabited or desert making no difference. Not unfrequently has the ceremony been performed in the presence, but not within the understanding, of the wondering natives; and on this formality is grounded a claim to usurp the actual possession, in preference to other Europeans.

Nothing can be more opposed to common sense, than that strangers should pretend to acquire by discovery, a title to countries they find with inhabitants; as if in those very inhabitants the right of prior discovery was not inherent. On some occasions, however, Europeans have thought it expedient to acknowledge the rights of the natives, as when, in disputing each other's claims, a title by gift from the natives has been pretended.

In uninhabited lands, a right of occupancy results from the discovery; but actual and *bonâ fide* possession is requisite to perfect appropriation. If real possession be not taken, or if taken shall not be retained, the right acquired by the mere discovery is not indefinite and a perpetual bar of exclusion to all others; for that would amount to discovery giving a right equivalent to annihilation. Moveable effects may be hoarded and kept out of use, or be destroyed, and it will not always be easy to prove whether with injury or benefit to mankind: but the

the necessities of human life will not admit, unless under the strong hand of power, that a right should be pretended to keep extensive and fertile countries waste and secluded from their use, without other reason than the will of a proprietor or claimant. CHAP. 1.

Particular local circumstances have created objections to the occupancy of territory: for instance, between the confines of the Russian and Chinese Empires, large tracts of country are left waste, it being held, that their being occupied by the subjects of either Empire would affect the security of the other. Several similar instances might be mentioned.

There is in many cases difficulty to settle what constitutes occupancy. On a small Island, any first settlement is acknowledged an occupancy of the whole; and sometimes, the occupancy of a single Island of a group is supposed to comprehend an exclusive title to the possession of the remainder of the group. In the *West Indies*, the Spaniards regarded their making settlements on a few Islands, to be an actual taking possession of the whole, as far as European pretensions were concerned.

The first discovery of Columbus set in activity the curiosity and speculative dispositions of all the European maritime Powers. King Henry the VIIth, of *England*, as soon as he was certified of the existence of countries in the Western hemisphere, sent ships thither, whereby *Newfoundland*, and parts of the continent of *North America*, were first discovered. *South America* was also visited very early, both by the English and the French; 'which nations,' the Historian of *Brasil* remarks, 'had neglected to ask a share of the undiscovered World, when Pope Alexander the VIth partitioned it, who would as willingly have drawn two lines as one; and, because they derived no advantage from that partition; refused to admit

CHAP. 1. 'admit its validity.' The *West Indies*, however, which doubtless was the part most coveted by all, seem to have been considered as more particularly the discovery and right of the Spaniards; and, either from respect to their pretensions, or from the opinion entertained of their force in those parts, they remained many years undisturbed by intruders in the *West Indian Seas*. But their homeward-bound ships, and also those of the Portuguese from the *East Indies*, did not escape being molested by pirates; sometimes by those of their own, as well as of other nations.

## C H A P. II.

*Review of the Dominion of the Spaniards in Hayti or Hispaniola.*

THE first settlement formed by the Castilians in their newly discovered world, was on the Island by the native inhabitants named *Hayti*; but to which the Spaniards gave the name of *Española* or *Hispaniola*. And in process of time it came to pass, that this same Island became the great place of resort, and nursery, of the European adventurers, who have been so conspicuous under the denomination of the Buccaneers of *America*.

C H A P. 2.  
1492-3.  
Hayti, or  
Hispaniola,  
the first  
Settlement  
of the  
Spaniards  
in America.

The native inhabitants found in *Hayti*, have been described a people of gentle, compassionate dispositions, of too frail a constitution, both of body and mind, either to resist oppression, or to support themselves under its weight; and to the indolence, luxury, and avarice of the discoverers, their freedom and happiness in the first instance, and finally their existence, fell a sacrifice.

Queen Ysabel, the patroness of the discovery, believed it her duty, and was earnestly disposed, to be their protectress; but she wanted resolution to second her inclination. The Island abounded in gold mines. The natives were tasked to work them, heavier and heavier by degrees; and it was the great misfortune of Columbus, after achieving an enterprise, the glory of which was not exceeded by any action of his contemporaries, to make an ungrateful use of the success Heaven had favoured him with, and to be the foremost in the destruction of the nations his discovery first made known to *Europe*.

The



## CHAP. 2.

Review  
of the  
Dominion  
of the  
Spaniards  
in

Hispaniola.

The population of *Hayti*, according to the lowest estimation made, amounted to a million of souls. The first visit of Columbus was passed in a continual reciprocation of kind offices between them and the Spaniards. One of the Spanish ships was wrecked upon the coast, and the natives gave every assistance in their power towards saving the crew, and their effects to them. When Columbus departed to return to *Europe*, he left behind him thirty-eight Spaniards, with the consent of the Chief or Sovereign of the part of the Island where he had been so hospitably received. He had erected a fort for their security, and the declared purpose of their remaining was to protect the Chief against all his enemies. Several of the native Islanders voluntarily embarked in the ships to go to *Spain*, among whom was a relation of the *Hayti* Chief; and with them were taken gold, and various samples of the productions of the *New World*.

Columbus, on his return, was received by the Court of *Spain* with the honours due to his heroic achievement, indeed with honours little short of adoration: he was declared Admiral, Governor, and Viceroy of the Countries that he had discovered, and also of those which he should afterwards discover; he was ordered to assume the style and title of nobility; and was furnished with a larger fleet to prosecute farther the discovery, and to make conquest of the new lands. 'The Instructions for his second expedition contained the following direction: 'Forasmuch as you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our 'command, with our vessels and our men, to discover and 'subdue certain Islands and Continent, our will is, that you 'shall be our Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor in them.' This was the first step in the iniquitous usurpations which the more cultivated nations of the world have practised upon their weaker brethren, the natives of *America*.

Thus

Thus provided and instructed, Columbus sailed on his second voyage. On arriving at *Hayti*, the first news he learnt was, that the natives had demolished the fort which he had built, and destroyed the garrison, who, it appeared, had given great provocation, by their rapacity and licentious conduct. War did not immediately follow. Columbus accepted presents of gold from the Chief; he landed a number of colonists, and built a town on the North side of *Hayti*, which he named after the patroness, *Ysabel*, and fortified. A second fort was soon built; new Spaniards arrived; and the natives began to understand that it was the intention of their visitors to stay, and be lords of the country. The Chiefs held meetings, to confer on the means to rid themselves of such unwelcome guests, and there was appearance of preparation making to that end. The Spaniards had as yet no farther asserted dominion, than in taking land for their town and forts, and helping themselves to provisions when the natives neglected to bring supplies voluntarily. The histories of these transactions affect a tone of apprehension on account of the extreme danger in which the Spaniards were, from the multitude of the heathen inhabitants; but all the facts shew that they perfectly understood the helpless character of the natives. A Spanish officer, named Pedro Margarit, was blamed, not altogether reasonably, for disorderly conduct to the natives, which happened in the following manner. He was ordered, with a large body of troops, to make a progress through the Island in different parts, and was strictly enjoined to restrain his men from committing any violence against the natives, or from giving them any cause for complaint. But the troops were sent on their journey without provisions, and the natives were not disposed to furnish them. The troops resorted to violence, which they did not limit to the obtaining food. If Columbus could spare a detachment strong enough to make

CHAP. 2.

1493.

Government of  
Columbus.

1494.

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such

CHAP. 2.

1494.

such a visitation through the land, he could have entertained no doubt of his ability to subdue it. But before he risked engaging in open war with the natives, he thought it prudent to weaken their means of resisting by what he called stratagem. *Hayti* was divided into five provinces, or small kingdoms, under the separate dominion of as many Princes or Caciques. One of these, Coanabo, the Cacique of *Maguana*, Columbus believed to be more resolute, and more dangerous to his purpose, than any other of the chiefs. To Coanabo, therefore, he sent an Officer, to propose an accommodation on terms which appeared so reasonable, that the Indian Chief assented to them. Afterwards, relying on the good faith of the Spaniards, not, as some authors have meanly represented, through credulous and childish simplicity, but with the natural confidence which generally prevails, and which ought to prevail, among mankind in their mutual engagements, he gave opportunity for Columbus to get possession of his person, who caused him to be seized, and embarked in a ship then ready to sail for *Spain*. The ship foundered in the passage. The story of Coanabo, and the contempt with which he treated Columbus for his treachery, form one of the most striking circumstances in the history of the perfidious dealings of the Spaniards in *America*. On the seizure of this Chief, the Islanders rose in arms. Columbus took the field with two hundred foot armed with musketry and cross-bows, with twenty troopers mounted on horses, and with twenty large dogs\*!

1495.

Dogs used  
in Battle  
against the  
Indians.

It is not to be urged in exculpation of the Spaniards, that the natives were the aggressors, by their killing the garrison left at *Hayti*. Columbus had terminated his first visit in friendship; and, without the knowledge that any breach had happened between the Spaniards left behind, and the natives, sentence

of

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\* *Lebreles de pressa.*

of subjugation had been pronounced against them. This was not to avenge injury, for the Spaniards knew not of any committed. Columbus was commissioned to execute this sentence, and for that end, besides a force of armed men, he took with him from *Spain* a number of blood-hounds, to prosecute a most unrighteous purpose by the most inhuman means.

CHAP. 2.  
1495.

Many things are justifiable in defence, which in offensive war are regarded by the generality of mankind with detestation. All are agreed in the use of dogs, as faithful guards to our persons as well as to our dwellings; but to hunt men with dogs seems to have been till then unheard of, and is nothing less offensive to humanity than cannibalism or feasting on our enemies. Neither jagged shot, poisoned darts, springing of mines, nor any species of destruction, can be objected to, if this is allowed in honourable war, or admitted not to be a disgraceful practice in any war.

It was scarcely possible for the Indians, or indeed for any people naked and undisciplined, however numerous, to stand their ground against a force so calculated to excite dread. The Islanders were naturally a timid people, and they regarded fire-arms as engines of more than mortal contrivance. Don Ferdinand, the son of Columbus, who wrote a History of his father's actions, relates an instance, which happened before the war, of above 400 Indians running away from a single Spanish horseman. So little was attack, or valiant opposition, apprehended from the natives, that Columbus divided his force into several squadrons, to charge them at different points. 'These faint-hearted creatures,' says Don Ferdinand, 'fled at the first onset; and our men, pursuing and killing them, made such havock, that in a short time they obtained a complete victory.' The policy adopted by Columbus was, to confirm the natives in their dread of European arms, by a terrible execution.

Massacre of  
the Natives,  
and Sub-  
jugation of  
the Island.

CHAP. 2.

• 1495.

Tribute  
imposed.

execution. The victors, both dogs and men, used their ascendancy like furies. The dogs flew at the throats of the Indians, and strangled or tore them in pieces; whilst the Spaniards, with the eagerness of hunters, pursued and mowed down the unresisting fugitives. Some thousands of the Islanders were slaughtered, and those taken prisoners were consigned to servitude. If the fact were not extant, it would not be conceivable that any one could be so blind to the infamy of such a proceeding, as to extol the courage of the Spaniards on this occasion, instead of execrating their cruelty. Three hundred of the natives were shipped for *Spain* as slaves, and the whole Island, with the exception of a small part towards the Western coast, which has since been named the *Cul de Sac*, was subdued. Columbus made a leisurely progress through the Island, which occupied him nine or ten months, and imposed a tribute generally upon all the natives above the age of fourteen, requiring each of them to pay quarterly a certain quantity of gold, or 25 lbs. of cotton. Those natives who were discovered to have been active against the Spaniards, were taxed higher. To prevent evasion, rings or tokens, to be produced in the nature of receipts, were given to the Islanders on their paying the tribute, and any Islander found without such a mark in his possession, was deemed not to have paid, and proceeded against.

Queen Ysabel shewed her disapprobation of Columbus's proceedings, by liberating and sending back the captive Islanders to their own country; and she moreover added her positive commands, that none of the natives should be made slaves. This order was accompanied with others intended for their protection; but the Spanish Colonists, following the example of their Governor, contrived means to evade them.

In the mean time, the Islanders could not furnish the tribute, and Columbus was rigorous in the collection. It is said

said in palliation, that he was embarrassed in consequence of the magnificent descriptions he had given to Ferdinand and Ysabel, of the riches of *Hispaniola*, by which he had taught them to expect much ; and that the fear of disappointing them and losing their favour, prompted him to act more oppressively to the Indians than his disposition otherwise inclined him to do. Distresses of this kind press upon all men ; but only in very ordinary minds do they outweigh solemn considerations. Setting aside the dictates of religion and moral duty, as doubtless was done, and looking only to worldly advantages, if Columbus had properly estimated his situation, he would have been resolute not to descend from the eminence he had attained. The dilemma in which he was placed, was simply, whether he would risk some diminution of the favour he was in at Court, by being the protector of these Islanders, who, by circumstances peculiarly calculated to engage his interest, were entitled in an especial manner to have been regarded as his clients ; or, to preserve that favour, would oppress them to their destruction, and to the ruin of his own fame.

CHAP. 2.  
1495.

The Islanders, finding their inability to oppose the invaders, took the desperate resolution to desist from the cultivation of their lands, to abandon their houses, and to withdraw themselves to the mountains ; hoping thereby that want of subsistence would force their oppressors to quit the Island. The Spaniards had many resources ; the sea-coast supplied them with fish, and their vessels brought provisions from other islands. As to the natives of *Hayti*, one third part of them, it is said, perished in the course of a few months, by famine and by suicide. The rest returned to their dwellings, and submitted. All these events took place within three years after the discovery ; so active is rapacity.

Despair of  
the Natives.

Some among the Spaniards (authors of that time say, the  
enemies

CHAP. 2.

1495.

enemies of Columbus, as if sentiments of humanity were not capable of such an effort) wrote Memorials to their Catholic Majesties, representing the disastrous condition to which the natives were reduced. Commissioners were sent to examine into the fact, and Columbus found it necessary to go to *Spain* to defend his administration.

1496.

So great was the veneration and respect entertained for him, that on his arrival at Court, accusation was not allowed to be produced against him: and, without instituting enquiry, it was arranged, that he should return to his government with a large reinforcement of Spaniards, and with authority to grant lands to whomsoever he chose to think capable of cultivating them. Various accidents delayed his departure from *Spain* on his third voyage, till 1499.

City of  
Nueva  
Ysabel  
founded,  
1496.

He had left two of his brothers to govern in *Hispaniola* during his absence; the eldest, Bartolomé, with the title of Adelantado; in whose time (A.D. 1496) was traced, on the South side of the Island, the plan of a new town intended for the capital, the land in the neighbourhood of the town of *Ysabel*, before built, being poor and little productive. The name first given to the new town was *Nueva Ysabel*; this in a short time gave place to that of *Santo Domingo*, a name which was not imposed by authority, but adopted and became in time established by common usage, of which the original cause is not now known\*.

Its name  
changed to  
Santo  
Domingo.

Under the Adelantado's government, the parts of the Island which till then had held out in their refusal to receive the Spanish yoke, were reduced to subjection; and the conqueror gratified his vanity with the public execution of one of the Hayti Kings.

Columbus

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\* The name *Saint Domingo* was afterwards applied to the whole Island by the French, who, whilst they contested the possession with the Spaniards, were desirous to supersede the use of the name *Española* or *Hispaniola*.

Columbus whilst he was in *Spain* received mortification in two instances, of neither of which he had any right to complain. In October 1496, three hundred natives of *Hayti* (made prisoners by the Adelantado) were landed at *Cadiz*, being sent to *Spain* as slaves. At this act of disobedience, the King and Queen strongly expressed their displeasure, and said, if the Islanders made war against the Castilians, they must have been constrained to do it by hard treatment. Columbus thought proper to blame, and to disavow what his brother had done. The other instance of his receiving mortification, was an act of kindness done him, and so intended; and it was the only shadow of any thing like reproof offered to him. In the instructions which he now received, it was earnestly recommended to him to prefer conciliation to severity on all occasions, which would admit it without prejudice to justice or to his honour.

CHAP. 2.

1496.

It was in the third voyage of Columbus that he first saw the Continent of *South America*, in August 1498, which he then took to be an Island, and named *Isla Santa*. He arrived on the 22d of the same month at the City of *San Domingo*.

1498.

The short remainder of Columbus's government in *Hayti* was occupied with disputes among the Spaniards themselves. A strong party was in a state of revolt against the government of the Columbuses, and accommodation was kept at a distance, by neither party daring to place trust in the other. Columbus would have had recourse to arms to recover his authority, but some of his troops deserted to the disaffected, and others refused to be employed against their countrymen. In this state, the parties engaged in a treaty on some points, and each sent Memorials to the Court. The Admiral in his dispatches represented, that necessity had made him consent to certain conditions, to avoid endangering the Colony; but that it would be

1498-9.



CHAP. 2.

1498-9.

Beginning  
of the  
Repartimientos.

be highly prejudicial to the interests of their Majesties to ratify the treaty he had been forced to subscribe.

The Admiral now made grants of lands to Spanish colonists, and accompanied them with requisitions to the neighbouring Caciques, to furnish the new proprietors with labourers to cultivate the soil. This was the beginning of the *Repartimientos*, or distributions of the Indians, which confirmed them slaves, and contributed, more than all former oppressions, to their extermination. Notwithstanding the earnest and express order of the King and Queen to the contrary, the practice of transporting the natives of *Hayti* to *Spain* as slaves, was connived at and continued; and this being discovered, lost Columbus the confidence, but not wholly the support, of Queen Ysabel.

1500.

Govern-  
ment of  
Bovadilla.

The dissensions in the Colony increased, as did the unpopularity of the Admiral; and in the year 1500, a new Governor General of the *Indies*, Francisco de Bovadilla, was sent from *Spain*, with a commission empowering him to examine into the accusations against the Admiral; and he was particularly enjoined by the Queen, to declare all the native inhabitants free, and to take measures to secure to them that they should be treated as a free people. How a man so grossly ignorant and intemperate as Bovadilla, should have been chosen to an office of such high trust, is not a little extraordinary. His first display of authority was to send the Columbuses home prisoners, with the indignity to their persons of confining them in chains. He courted popularity in his government by shewing favour to all who had been disaffected to the government or measures of the Admiral and his brothers, the natives excepted, for whose relief he had been especially appointed Governor. To encourage the Spaniards to work the mines, he reduced the duties payable to the Crown on the produce, and trusted to an increase in the quantity of gold extracted, for preserving the revenue from diminution.

diminution. This was to be effected by increasing the labour of the natives; and that these miserable people might not evade their servitude, he caused muster-rolls to be made of all the inhabitants, divided them into classes, and made distribution of them according to the value of the mines, or to his desire to gratify particular persons. The Spanish Colonists believed that the same facilities to enrich themselves would not last long, and made all the haste in their power to profit by the present opportunity.

CHAP. 2.  
1500.  
All the  
Natives  
compelled  
to work the  
Mines.

By these means, Bovadilla drew from the mines in a few months so great a quantity of gold, that one fleet which he sent home, carried a freight more than sufficient to reimburse *Spain* all the expences which had been incurred in the discovery and conquest. The procuring these riches was attended with so great a mortality among the natives as to threaten their utter extinction.

Nothing could exceed the surprise and indignation of the Queen, on receiving information of these proceedings. The bad government of Bovadilla was a kind of palliation which had the effect of lessening the reproach upon the preceding government, and, joined to the disgraceful manner in which Columbus had been sent home, produced a revolution of sentiment in his favour. The good Queen Ysabel wished to compensate him for the hard treatment he had received, at the same time that she had the sincerity to make him understand she would not again commit the Indian natives to his care. All his other offices and dignities were restored to him.

For a successor to Bovadilla in the office of Governor General, Don Nicolas Ovando, a Cavalero of the Order of *Alcantara*, was chosen; a man esteemed capable and just, and who entered on his government with apparent mildness and consideration. But in a short time he proved the most execrable

1501-2.  
Nicolas  
Ovando,  
Governor.

**CHAP. 2.** of all the tyrants, 'as if,' says an historian, 'tyranny was  
 1501-2. 'inherent and contagious in the office, so as to change good  
 'men to bad, for the destruction of these unfortunate  
 'Indians.'

In obedience to his instructions, Ovando, on arriving at his government, called a General Assembly of all the Caciques or principal persons among the natives, to whom he declared, that their Catholic Majesties took the Islanders under their royal protection; that no exaction should be made on them, other than the tribute which had been heretofore imposed; and that no person should be employed to work in the mines, except on the footing of voluntary labourers for wages.

1502. On the promulgation of the royal pleasure, all working in  
 Working the Mines the Mines discontinued by Orders from Spain. the mines immediately ceased. The impression made by their past sufferings was too strong for any offer of pay or reward to prevail on them to continue in that work. [The same thing happened, many years afterwards, between the Chilese and the Spaniards.] A few mines had been allowed to remain in possession of some of the Caciques of *Hayti*, on the condition of rendering up half the produce; but now, instead of working them, they sold their implements. In consequence of this defection, it was judged expedient to lower the royal duties on the produce of the mines, which produced some effect.

Ovando, however, was intent on procuring the mines to be worked as heretofore, but proceeded with caution. In his dispatches to the Council of the *Indies*, he represented in strong colours the natural levity and inconstancy of the Indians, and their idle and disorderly manner of living; on which account, he said, it would be for their improvement and benefit to find them occupation in moderate labour; that there would be no injustice in so doing, as they would receive wages for their work, and they would thereby be enabled to pay

pay the tribute, which otherwise, from their habitual idleness, many would not be able to satisfy. He added moreover, that the Indians, being left entirely their own masters, kept at a distance from the Spanish habitations, which rendered it impossible to instruct them in the principles of Christianity.

CHAP. 2.

1502.

This reasoning, and the proposal to furnish the natives with employment, were approved by the Council of the *Indies*; and the Court, from the opinion entertained of the justice and moderation of Ovando, acquiesced so far as to trust making the experiment to his discretion. In reply to his representations, he received instructions recommending, ‘That if it was necessary to oblige the Indians to work, it should be done in the most gentle and moderate manner; that the Caciques should be invited to send their people in regular turns; and that the employers should treat them well, and pay them wages, according to the quality of the person and nature of the labour; that care should be taken for their regular attendance at religious service and instruction; and that it should be remembered they were a free people, to be governed with mildness, and on no account to be treated as slaves.’

These directions, notwithstanding the expressions of care for the natives contained in them, released the Governor General from all restriction. This man had recently been appointed Grand Master of the order of *Calatrava*, and thenceforward he was most generally distinguished by the appellation or title of the Grand Commander.

1502-3.  
The Natives  
again forced  
to the  
Mines.

A transaction of a shocking nature, which took place during Bovadilla’s government, caused an insurrection of the natives; but which did not break out till after the removal of Bovadilla. A Spanish vessel had put into a port of the province of *Higuey* (the most Eastern part of *Hayti*) to procure a lading of *cassava*,

D 2

a root

CHAP. 2.

1502-3.

a root which is used as bread. The Spaniards landed, having with them a large dog held by a cord. Whilst the natives were helping them to what they wanted, one of the Spaniards in wanton insolence pointed to a Cacique, and called to the dog in manner of setting him on. The Spaniard who held the cord, it is doubtful whether purposely or by accident, suffered it to slip out of his hand, and the dog instantly tore out the unfortunate Cacique's entrails. The people of *Higuey* sent a deputation, to complain to Bovadilla; but those who went could not obtain attention. In the beginning of Ovando's government, some other Spaniards landed at the same port of *Higuey*, and the natives, in revenge for what had happened, fell upon them, and killed them; after which they took to arms.

Severities  
shewn to  
the people  
of Higuey.

This insurrection was quelled with so great a slaughter, that the province, from having been well peopled, was rendered almost a desert.

1503.

Encomiendas  
established.

Ovando, on obtaining his new instructions, followed the model set by his predecessors. He enrolled and classed the natives in divisions, called *Repartimientos*: from these he assigned to the Spanish proprietors a specified number of labourers, by grants, which, with most detestable hypocrisy, were denominated *Encomiendas*. The word *Encomienda* signifies recommendation, and the employer to whom the Indian was consigned, was to have the reputation of being his patron. The *Encomienda* was conceived in the following terms:—‘ *I recommend to A. B. such and such Indians (listed by name) the subjects of such Cacique; and he is to take care to have them instructed in the principles of our holy faith.*’

Under the enforcement of the *encomiendas*, the natives were again dragged to the mines; and many of these unfortunate wretches were kept by their hard employers under ground for six months together. With the labour, and grief at being again

again doomed to slavery, they sunk so rapidly, that it suggested to the murderous proprietors of the mines the having recourse to *Africa* for slaves. Ovando, after small experience of this practice, endeavoured to oppose it as dangerous, the Africans frequently escaping from their masters, and finding concealment among the natives, in whom they excited some spirit of resistance.

CHAP. 2.

1503.  
African  
Slaves  
carried to  
the West  
Indies.

The ill use made by the Grand Commander of the powers with which he had been trusted, appears to have reached the Court early, for, in 1503, he received fresh orders, enjoining him not to allow, on any pretext, the natives to be employed in labour against their own will, either in the mines or elsewhere. Ovando, however, trusted to being supported by the Spanish proprietors of the mines within his government, who grew rich by the *encomiendas*, and with their assistance he found pretences for not restraining himself to the orders of the Court.

In parts of the Island, the Caciques still enjoyed a degree of authority over the natives, which rested almost wholly on habitual custom and voluntary attachment. To loosen this band, Ovando, assuming the character of a protector, published ordonnances to release the lower classes from the oppressions of the Caciques; but from those of their European taskmasters he gave them no relief.

Some of the principal among the native inhabitants of *Xaragua*, the South-western province of *Hayti*, had the hardiness openly to express their discontent at the tyranny exercised by the Spaniards established in that province. The person at this time regarded as Cacique or Chief of *Xaragua* was a female, sister to the last Cacique, who had died without issue. The Spanish histories call her Queen of *Xaragua*. This Princess had shewn symptoms of something like abhorrence of the Spaniards near her, and they did not fail to send representations

CHAP. 2.

1503.

sentations to the Grand Commander, with the addition, that there appeared indications of an intention in the Xaraguans to revolt.

On receiving this notice, Ovando determined that *Xaragua*, as *Higüey* had before, should feel the weight of his displeasure.

Putting himself at the head of 370 Spanish troops, part of them cavalry, he departed from the city of *San Domingo* for the devoted province, giving out publicly, that his intention was to make a progress into the West, to collect the tribute, and to visit the Queen of *Xaragua*. He was received by the Princess and her people with honours, feastings, and all the demonstrations of joy usually acted by terrified people with the hopes of soothing tyranny; and the troops were regaled with profusion

1503-4.

of victuals, with dancing, and shows. After some days thus spent, Ovando invited the Princess, her friends and attendants, to an entertainment which he promised them, after the manner of *Spain*. A large open public building was the chosen place for holding this festival, and all the Spanish settlers in the province were required to attend. A great concourse of Indians, besides the bidden guests, crowded round, to enjoy the spectacle. As the appointed time approached, the Spanish infantry gradually appeared, and took possession of all the avenues; which being secured, this Grand Commander himself appeared, mounted at the head of his cavalry; and on his making a signal, which had been previously concerted, which

Massacre  
of the  
people of  
*Xaragua*.

was laying his hand on the Cross of his Order, the whole of these diabolical conquerors fell upon the defenceless multitude, who were so hemmed in, that thousands were slaughtered, and it was scarcely possible for any to escape unwounded. Some of the principal Indians or Caciques, it is said, were by the Commander's order fastened to the pillars of the building, where they were questioned, and made to confess themselves in a conspiracy against the Spanish government; after which

confession

confession the building was set on fire, and they perished in the flames. The massacre did not stop here. Detachments of troops, with dogs, were sent to hunt and destroy the natives in different parts of the province, and some were pursued over to the Island *Gonave*. The Princess was carried bound to the city of *San Domingo*, and with the forms of law was tried, condemned, and put to death.

CHAP. 2.  
1503-4.

The purposes, besides that of gratifying his revenge for the hatred shewn to his government, which were sufficient to move Ovando to this bloody act, were, the plunder of the province, and the reduction of the Islanders to a more manageable number, and to the most unlimited submission. Some of the Indians fled to the mountains. ‘But,’ say the Spanish Chronicles of these events, ‘in a short time their Chiefs were taken and punished, and at the end of six months there was not a native living on the Island who had not submitted to the dominion of the Spaniards.’

1504.

Queen Ysabel died in November 1504, much and universally lamented. This Princess bore a large share in the usurpations practised in the New World; but it is evident she was carried away, contrary to her real principles and disposition, which were just and benevolent, and to her own happiness, by the powerful stream of general opinion.

Death of  
Queen  
Ysabel.

In *Europe*, political principles, or maxims of policy, have been in continual change, fashioned by the nature of the passing events, no less than dress has been by caprice; causes which have led one to deviate from plain rectitude, as the other from convenience. One principle, covetousness of the attainment of power, has nevertheless constantly predominated, and has derided and endeavoured to stigmatize as weakness and imbecility, the stopping short of great acquisitions, territorial especially, for moral considerations. Queen Ysabel lived surrounded by a world



CHAP. 2.  
1504.

world of such politicians, who were moreover stimulated to avarice by the prospect of American gold; a passion which yet more than ambition is apt to steel the heart of man against the calls of justice and the distresses of his fellow creatures. If Ysabel had been endued with more than mortal fortitude, she might have refused her sanction to the usurpations, but could not have prevented them. On her death bed she earnestly recommended to King Ferdinand to recal Ovando. Ovando, however, sent home much gold, and Ferdinand referred to a distant time the fulfilment of her dying request.

1506.

Upon news of the death of Queen Ysabel, the small wages which had been paid the Indians for their labour, amounting to about half a piastre *per* month, were withheld, as being too grievous a burthen on the Spanish Colonists; and the hours of labour were no longer limited. In the province of *Higuey*, the tyranny and licentiousness of the military again threw the poor natives into a frenzy of rage and despair, and they once more revolted, burnt the fort, and killed the soldiers. Ovando resolved to put it out of the power of the people of *Higuey* ever again to be troublesome. A strong body of troops was marched into the province, the Cacique of *Higuey* (the last of the *Hayti* Kings) was taken prisoner and executed, and the province pacified.

Desperate  
condition  
of the  
Natives.

The pecuniary value of grants of land in *Hayti* with *encomiendas*, became so considerable as to cause them to be coveted and solicited for by many of the grandees and favourites of the Court in *Spain*, who, on obtaining them, sent out agents to turn them to account. The agent was to make his own fortune by his employment, and to satisfy his principal. In no instance were the natives spared through any interference of the Grand Commander. It was a maxim with this bad man, always to keep well with the powerful; and every thing

thing respecting the natives was yielded to their accommodation. Care, however, was taken that the Indians should be baptised, and that a head tax should be paid to the Crown; and these particulars being complied with, the rest was left to the patron of the *encomienda*. Punishments and tortures of every kind were practised, to wring labour out of men who were dying through despair. Some of the accounts, which are corroborated by circumstances, relate, that the natives were frequently coupled and harnessed like cattle, and driven with whips. If they fell under their load, they were flogged up. To prevent their taking refuge in the woods or mountains, an officer, under the title of *Alguazil del Campo*, was constantly on the watch with a pack of hounds; and many Indians, in endeavouring to escape, were torn in pieces. The settlers on the Island, the great men at home, their agents, and the royal revenue, were all to be enriched at the expence of the destruction of the natives. It was as if the discovery of *America* had changed the religion of the Spaniards from Christianity to the worship of gold with human sacrifices. If power were entitled to dominion between man and man, as between man and other animals, the Spaniards would remain chargeable with the most outrageous abuse of their advantages. In enslaving the inhabitants of *Hayti*, if they had been satisfied with reducing them to the state of cattle, it would have been merciful, comparatively with what was done. The labour imposed by mankind upon their cattle, is in general so regulated as not to exceed what is compatible with their full enjoyment of health; but the main consideration with the Spanish proprietors was, by what means they should obtain the greatest quantity of gold from the labour of the natives in the shortest time. By an enumeration made in the year 1507, the number of the natives in the whole Island *Hayti* was reckoned at

CHAP. 2.  
1500.

60,000, the remains of a population which fifteen years before exceeded a million. The insatiate colonists did not stop: many of the mines lay unproductive for want of labourers, and they bent their efforts to the supplying this defect.

The Grand  
Antilles.

The Islands of the *West Indies* have been classed into three divisions, which chiefly regard their situations; but they are distinguished also by other peculiar circumstances. The four largest Islands, *Cuba*, *Hayti*, *Jamaica*, and *Porto Rico*, have been called the *Grand Antilles*. When first discovered by Europeans, they were inhabited by people whose similarity of language, of customs, and character, bespoke them the offspring of one common stock. The second division is a chain of small Islands

Small  
Antilles, or  
Caribbee  
Islands.

Eastward of these, and extending South to the coast of *Paria* on the Continent of *South America*. They have been called sometimes the *Small Antilles*; sometimes after the native inhabitants, the *Caribbee Islands*; and not less frequently by a subdivision, the Windward and Leeward Islands. The inhabitants on these Islands were a different race from the inhabitants of the *Grand Antilles*. They spoke a different language, were robust in person; and in disposition fierce, active, and warlike. Some have conjectured them to be of Tartar extraction, which corresponds with the belief that they emigrated from *North America* to the *West Indies*. It is supposed they drove out the original inhabitants from the *Small Antilles*, to establish themselves there; but they had not gained footing in the large Islands.

Lucayas,  
or Bahama  
Islands.

The third division of the Islands is the cluster which are situated to the North of *Cuba*, and near *East Florida*, and are called the *Lucayas*, of whose inhabitants mention will shortly be made.

The Spanish Government participated largely in the wickedness practised to procure labourers for the mines of *Hispaniola*. Pretending great concern for the cause of humanity, they declared

declared it legal, and gave general license, for any individual to make war against, and enslave, people who were cannibals; under which pretext every nation, both of the American Continent and of the Islands, was exposed to their enterprises. Spanish adventurers made attempts to take people from the small *Antilles*, sometimes with success; but they were not obtained without danger, and in several expeditions of the kind, the Spaniards were repulsed with loss. This made them turn their attention to the *Lucayas Islands*.

CHAP. 2.

1506.

The inhabitants of the *Lucayas*, an unsuspecting and credulous people, did not escape the snares laid for them. Ovando, in his dispatches to *Spain*, represented the benefit it would be to the holy faith, to have the inhabitants of the *Lucayas* instructed in the Christian religion; for which purpose, he said, 'it would be necessary they should be transported to *Hispaniola*, as Missionaries could not be spared to every place, and there was no other way in which this abandoned people could be converted.' King Ferdinand and the Council of the Indies were themselves so abandoned and destitute of all goodness, as to pretend to give credit to Ovando's representation, and lent him their authority to sacrifice the *Lucayans*, under the pretext of advancing religion. Spanish ships were sent to the Islands on this business, and the natives were at first inveigled on board by the foulest hypocrisy and treachery. Among the artifices used by the Spaniards, they pretended that they came from a delicious country, where rested the souls of the deceased fathers, kinsmen, and friends, of the *Lucayans*, who had sent to invite them. The innocent Islanders so seduced to follow the Spaniards, when, on arriving at *Hispaniola*, they found how much they had been abused, died in great numbers of chagrin and grief. Afterwards, when these impious pretences of the Spaniards were no longer believed, they dragged away the

1508.

The  
Natives  
of the  
*Lucayas*  
betrayed to  
the Mines;

and the  
Islands  
wholly  
unpeopled.

CHAP. 2.  
1508.

natives by force, as long as any could be found, till they wholly unpeopled the *Lucayas Islands*. The Buccaneers of *America*, whose adventures and misdeeds are about to be related, may be esteemed saints in comparison with the men whose names have been celebrated as the Conquerors of the NEW WORLD.

In the same manner as at the *Lucayas*, other Islands of the *West Indies*, and different parts of the Continent, were resorted to for recruits. A pearl fishery was established, in which the Indians were not more spared as divers, than on the land as miners.

Fate of the  
native  
Inhabitants  
of  
Porto Rico.

*Porto Rico* was conquered at this time. Ore had been brought thence, which was not so pure as that of *Hayti*; but it was of sufficient value to determine Ovando to the conquest of the Island. The Islanders were terrified by the carnage which the Spaniards with their dogs made in the commencement of the war, and, from the fear of irritating them by further resistance, they yielded wholly at discretion, and were immediately sent to the mines, where in a short time they all perished. In the same year with *Porto Rico*, the Island of *Jamaica* was taken possession of by the Spaniards.

1509.  
D. Diego  
Columbus,  
Governor  
of  
Hispaniola.

Ovando was at length recalled, and was succeeded in the government of *Hispaniola* by Don Diego Columbus, the eldest son and inheritor of the rights and titles of the Admiral Christopher. To conclude with Ovando, it is related that he was regretted by his countrymen in the *Indies*, and was well received at Court.

Don Diego did not make any alteration in the *repartimientos*, except that some of them changed hands in favour of his own adherents. During his government, some fathers of the Dominican Order had the courage to inveigh from the pulpit against the enormity of the *repartimientos*, and were so persevering in their representations, that the Court of Spain

*Spain* found it necessary, to avoid scandal, to order an enquiry CHAP. 2.  
into the condition of the Indians. In this enquiry it was  
seriously disputed, whether it was just or unjust to make them  
slaves.

The Histories of *Hispaniola* first notice about this time a  
great increase in the number of cattle in the Island. As the 1511.  
Increase  
of  
Cattle  
in Hayti.  
human race disappeared, less and less land was occupied in  
husbandry, till almost the whole country became pasturage  
for cattle, by far the greater part of which were wild. An  
ordonnance, issued in the year 1511, specified, that as beasts  
of burthen were so much multiplied, the Indians should not  
be made to carry or drag heavy loads.

In 1511, the conquest of *Cuba* was undertaken and com- Cuba.  
pleted. The terror conceived of the Spaniards is not to be  
expressed. The story of the conquest is related in a Spanish  
history in the following terms: ‘ A leader was chosen, who  
‘ had acquitted himself in high employments with fortune and  
‘ good conduct. He had in other respects amiable qualities,  
‘ and was esteemed a man of honour and rectitude. He went  
‘ from *S. Domingo* with regular troops and above 300 volun-  
‘ teers. He landed in *Cuba*, not without opposition from the  
‘ natives. In a few days, he surprised and took the principal  
‘ Cacique, named Hatuey, prisoner, and *made him expiate in*  
‘ *the flames the fault he had been guilty of in not submitting with*  
‘ *a good grace to the conqueror.*’ This Cacique, when at the  
stake, being importuned by a Spanish priest to become a  
Christian, that he might go to Heaven, replied, that if  
any Spaniard was to be met in Heaven, he hoped not to  
go there.

The Reader will be detained a very little longer with these 1514.  
irksome scenes. In 1514, the number of the inhabitants  
of *Hayti* was reckoned 14,000. A distributor of Indians was  
appointed,

CHAP. 2.

appointed, with powers independent of the Governor, with intention to save the few remaining natives of *Hayti*. The new distributor began the exercise of his office by a general revocation of all the *encomiendas*, except those which had been granted by the King; and almost immediately afterwards, in the most open and shameless manner, he made new grants, and sold them to the highest bidder. He was speedily recalled; and another (the Licentiate Ybarra) was sent to supply his place, who had a high character for probity and resolution; but he died immediately on his arrival at *Santo Domingo*, and not without suspicion that he was poisoned.

1515.

Bart. de las Casas, and Cardinal Ximenes; their endeavours to serve the Indians. The Cardinal dies.

The endeavours of the Dominican Friars in behalf of the natives were seconded by the Licentiate Bartolomeo de las Casas, and by Cardinal Ximenes when he became Prime Minister of *Spain*; and, to their great honour, they were both resolute to exert all their power to preserve the natives of *America*. The Cardinal sent Commissioners, and with them las Casas, with the title of Protector of the Indians. But the Cardinal died in 1517; after which all the exertions of las Casas and the Dominicans could not shake the *repartimientos*.

1519.

Cacique Henriquez.

At length, among the native Islanders there sprung up one who had the courage to put himself at the head of a number of his countrymen, and the address to withdraw with them from the gripe of the Spaniards, and to find refuge among the mountains. This man was the son, and, according to the laws of inheritance, should have been the successor, of one of the principal Caciques. He had been christened by the name of Henriquez, and, in consequence of a regulation made by the late Queen Ysabel of *Castile*, he had been educated, on account of his former rank, in a Convent of the Franciscans. He defended his retreat in the mountains by skilful management and resolute conduct, and had the good fortune in the commencement



mencement to defeat some parties of Spanish troops sent against him, which encouraged more of his countrymen, and as many of the Africans as could escape, to flock to him; and under his government, as of a sovereign prince, they withstood the attempts of the Spaniards to subdue them. Fortunately for Henriquez and his followers, the conquest and settlement of *Cuba*, and the invasion of *Mexico*, which was begun at this time, lessened the strength of the Spaniards in *Hispaniola*, and enabled the insurgents for many years to keep all the Spanish settlements in the Island in continual alarm, and to maintain their own independence.

CHAP. 2.  
1519.

During this time, the question of the propriety of keeping the Islanders in slavery, underwent grave examinations. It is related that the experiment was tried, of allowing a number of the natives to build themselves two villages, to live in them according to their own customs and liking; and that the result was, they were found to be so improvident, and so utterly unable to take care of themselves, that the *encomiendas* were pronounced to be necessary for their preservation. Such an experiment is a mockery. Before the conquest, and now under Don Henriquez, the people of *Hayti* shewed they wanted not the Spaniards to take care of them.

## C H A P. III.

*Ships of different European Nations frequent the West Indies. Opposition experienced by them from the Spaniards. Hunting of Cattle in Hispaniola.*

CHAP. 3.

1518.  
Adventure  
of an  
English  
Ship.

IN the year 1517 or 1518, some Spaniards in a caravela going from *St. Domingo* to the Island *Porto Rico*, to take in a lading of cassava, were surprised at seeing a ship there of about 250 tons, armed with cannon, which did not appear to belong to the Spanish nation; and on sending a boat to make enquiry, she was found to be English. The account given by the English Commander was, that two ships had sailed from *England* in company, with the intention to discover the country of the Great Cham; that they were soon separated from each other by a tempest, and that this ship was afterwards in a sea almost covered with ice; that thence she had sailed southward to *Brasil*, and, after various adventures, had found the way to *Porto Rico*. This same English ship, being provided with merchandise, went afterwards to *Hispaniola*, and anchored near the entrance of the port of *San Domingo*, where the Captain sent on shore to demand leave to sell their goods. The demand was forwarded to the *Audiencia*, or superior court in *San Domingo*; but the Castellana, or Governor of the Castle, Francisco de Tapia, could not endure with patience to see a ship of another nation in that part of the world, and, without waiting for the determination of the *Audiencia*, ordered the cannon of the fort to be fired against her; on which she took up her anchor and returned to *Porto Rico*, where she purchased provisions, paying for what she got with wrought iron,

iron, and afterwards departed for *Europe*\*. When this visit of an English ship to the *West Indies* was known in *Spain*, it caused there great inquietude; and the Governor of the Castle of *San Domingo*, it is said, was much blamed, because he had not, instead of forcing the ship to depart by firing his cannon, contrived to seize her, so that no one might have returned to teach others of their nation the route to the Spanish Indies.

CHAP. 3.

1518.

The English were not the only people of whom the Spaniards had cause to be jealous, nor those from whom the most mischief was to be apprehended. The French, as already noticed, had very early made expeditions to *Brasil*, and they now began to look at the *West Indies*; so that in a short time the sight of other European ships than those of *Spain* became no novelty there. Hakluyt mentions a Thomas Tyson, an Englishman, who went to the *West Indies* in 1526, as factor to some English merchants. When the Spaniards met any of these intruders, if able to master them, they made prisoners of them, and many they treated as pirates. The new comers soon began to retaliate. In 1529, the Governor and Council at *San Domingo* drew up the plan of a regulation for the security of their ships against the increasing dangers from pirates in the *West Indies*. In this, they recommended, that a central port of commerce should be established in the *West Indies*, to which every ship from *Spain* should be obliged to go first, as to a general rendezvous, and thence be dispatched, as might suit circumstances, to her farther destination; also, that all their ships homeward bound, from whatsoever part of the *West Indies*, should first rendezvous at the same port; by which regulation their ships, both outward

The French and other Europeans resort to the West Indies;

Are regarded as interlopers by the Spaniards.

1529. Regulation proposed by the Government in Hispaniola, for protection against Pirates.

and

\* *Historia General de las Indias*, por Gonç. Hernandez de Oviedo, lib. 19. cap. 12. Also *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 499, edit. 1600.

and homeward bound, would form escorts to each other, and have the benefit of mutual support; and they proposed that some port in *Hispaniola* should be appointed for the purpose, as most conveniently situated. This plan appears to have been approved by the Council of the *Indies*; but, from indolence, or some other cause, no farther measures were taken for its adoption.

The attention of the Spaniards was at this time almost wholly engrossed by the conquest and plunder of the American Continent, which it might have been supposed would have sufficed them, according to the opinion of Francisco Preciado, a Spanish discoverer, who observed, that *there was country enough to conquer for a thousand years*. The continental pursuits caused much diminution in the importance of the *West India Islands* to the Spaniards. The mines of the Islands were not comparable in richness with those of the Continent, and, for want of labourers, many were left unworked. The colonists in *Hispaniola*, however, had applied themselves to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and to manufacture sugar; also to hunting cattle, which was found a profitable employment, the skins and the suet turning to good account. The Spaniards denominated their hunters *Matadores*, which in the Spanish language signifies killers or slaughterers.

Hunting of  
Cattle in  
*Hispaniola*.

*Matadores*.

That the English, French, and Hollanders, in their early voyages to the *West Indies*, went in expectation of meeting hostility from the Spaniards, and with a determination therefore to commit hostility if they could with advantage, appears by an ingenious phrase of the French adventurers, who, if the first opportunity was in their favour, termed their profiting by it '*se dedomager par avance*.'

Much of *Hispaniola* had become desert. There were long ranges of coast, with good ports, that were unfrequented by any

any inhabitant whatever, and the land in every part abounded with cattle. These were such great conveniencies to the ships of the interlopers, that the Western coast, which was the most distant part from the Spanish capital, became a place of common resort to them when in want of provisions. Another great attraction to them was the encouragement they received from Spanish settlers along the coast; who, from the contracted and monopolizing spirit of their government in the management of their colonies, have at all times been eager to have communication with foreigners, that they might obtain supplies of European goods on terms less exorbitant than those which the royal regulations of *Spain* imposed. The government at *San Domingo* employed armed ships to prevent clandestine trade, and to clear the coasts of *Hispaniola* of interlopers, which ships were called *guarda costas*; and it is said their commanders were instructed not to take prisoners. On the other hand, the intruders formed combinations, came in collected numbers, and made descents on different parts of the coast, ravaging the Spanish towns and settlements.

Guarda-  
Costas.

In the customary course, such transactions would have come under the cognizance of the governments in *Europe*; but matters here took a different turn. The Spaniards, when they had the upper hand, did not fail to deal out their own pleasure for law; and in like manner, the English, French, and Dutch, when masters, determined their own measure of retaliation. The different European governments were glad to avoid being involved in the settlement of disorders they had no inclination to repress. In answer to representations made by *Spain*, they said, 'that the people complained against had acted entirely on their own authority, not as the subjects of any prince, and that the King of *Spain* was at liberty to proceed against them according to his own pleasure.' Queen

F 2

Elizabeth

CHAP. 3. Elizabeth of *England*, with more open asperity answered a complaint made by the Spanish ambassador, of Spanish ships being plundered by the English in the *West Indies*, 'That the Spaniards had drawn these inconveniencies upon themselves, by their severe and unjust dealings in their American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the *Indies*. That as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by the donation of the Bishop of *Rome*, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for that their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers or capes, were such insignificant things as could no ways entitle them to a propriety further than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit\*.' A warfare was thus established between Europeans in the *West Indies*, local and confined, which had no dependence upon transactions in *Europe*. All Europeans not Spaniards, whether it was war or peace between their nations in *Europe*, on their meeting in the *West Indies*, regarded each other as friends and allies, knowing then no other enemy than the Spaniards; and, as a kind of public avowal of this confederation, they called themselves *Brethren of the Coast*.

Brethren  
of the  
Coast.

The first European intruders upon the Spaniards in the *West Indies* were accordingly mariners, the greater number of whom, it is supposed, were French, and next to them the English. Their first hunting of cattle in *Hayti*, was for provisioning their ships. The time they began to form factories or establishments, to hunt cattle for the skins, and to cure the flesh as an article of traffic, is not certain; but it may be concluded

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\* *Camden's Elizabeth*, A. D. 1580.

concluded that these occupations were began by the crews of wrecked vessels, or by seamen who had disagreed with their commander; and that the ease, plenty, and freedom from all command and subordination, enjoyed in such a life, soon drew others to quit their ships, and join in the same occupations. The ships that touched on the coast supplied the hunters with European commodities, for which they received in return hides, tallow, and cured meat. The appellation of *Boucanier* or *Buccaneer* was not invented, or at least not applied to these adventurers, till long after their first footing in *Hayti*. At the time of Oxnam's expedition across the *Isthmus of America* to the *South Sea*, A.D. 1575, it does not appear to have been known. CHAP. 3.

There is no particular account of the events which took place on the coasts of *Hispaniola* in the early part of the contest between the Spaniards and the new settlers. It is however certain, that it was a war of the severest retaliation; and in this disorderly state was continued the intercourse of the English, French, and Dutch with the *West Indies*, carried on by individuals neither authorized nor controlled by their governments, for more than a century.

In 1586, the English Captain, Francis Drake, plundered the city of *San Domingo*; and the numbers of the English and French in the *West Indies* increased so much, that shortly afterwards the Spaniards found themselves necessitated to abandon all the Western and North-western parts of *Hispaniola*.



## C H A P. IV.

*Iniquitous Settlement of the Island Saint Christopher by the English and French. Tortuga seized by the Hunters. Origin of the name Buccaneer. The name Flibustier. Customs attributed to the Buccaneers.*

CHAP. 4.

THE increase of trade of the English and French to the *West Indies*, and the growing importance of the freebooters or adventurers concerned in it, who, unassisted but by each other, had begun to acquire territory and to form establishments in spite of all opposition from the Spaniards, attracted the attention of the British and French governments, and suggested to them a scheme of confederacy, in which some of the principal adventurers were consulted. The project adopted by them was, to plant a royal colony of each nation, on some one island, and at the same time; by which a constant mutual support would be secured. In as far as regarded the concerns of Europeans with each other, this plan was unimpeachable.

The Island chosen by the projectors, as the best suited to their purpose, was one of the *Small Antilles* or *Caribbee Islands*, known by the name of *St. Christopher*, which is in length about seven leagues, and in breadth two and a half.

Thus the governments of *Great Britain* and *France*, like friendly fellow-travellers, and not like rivals who were to contend in a race, began their West-Indian career by joint consent at the same point both in time and place. In the year 1625, and on the same day, a colony of British and a colony of French, in the names and on the behalf of their respective

1625.  
The Island  
Saint  
Christopher  
settled by  
the English  
and French.

respective nations, landed on this small island, the division of which had been settled by previous agreement. CHAP. 4.

The Island *St. Christopher* was at that time inhabited by Caribbe Indians. The Spaniards had never possessed a settlement on it, but their ships had been accustomed to stop there, to traffic for provisions and refreshments. The French and English who came to take possession, landed without obtaining the consent of the native Caribbe inhabitants; and, because danger was apprehended from their discontent, under pretence that the Caribbs were friends to the Spaniards, these new colonists fell upon them by surprise in the night, killed their principal leaders, and forced the rest to quit the Island and seek another home. De Rochefort, in his *Histoire Morale des Isles Antilles* (p. 284.) mentions the English and French killing the Caribb Chiefs, in the following terms: ‘ *Ils se defirent en une nuit de tous les plus factieux de cette nation!* ’ Thus in usurpation and barbarity was founded the first colony established under the authority of the British and French governments in the *West Indies*; which colony was the parent of our African slave trade. When accounts of the conquest and of the proceedings at *Saint Christopher* were transmitted to *Europe*, they were approved; West-India companies were established, and licences granted to take out colonists. De Rochefort has oddly enough remarked, that the French, English, and Dutch, in their first establishments in the *West Indies*, did not follow the cruel maxims of the Spaniards. True it is, however, that they only copied in part. In their usurpations their aim went no farther than to dispossess, and they did not seek to make slaves of the people whom they deprived of their land. 1625.

The English and French in a short time had disagreements, and began to make complaints of each other. The English took possession of the small Island *Nevis*, which is separated only

**CHAP. 4.** only by a narrow channel from the South end of *St. Christopher*.  
 P. Charlevoix says, 'the ambition of the English disturbed the  
 ' good understanding between the colonists of the two nations;  
 1629. ' but M. de Cusac arriving with a squadron of the French King's  
 ' ships, by taking and sinking some British ships lying there,  
 ' brought the English Governor to reason, and to confine him-  
 ' self to the treaty of Partition.' After effecting this amicable  
 adjustment, De Cusac sailed from *St. Christopher*; and was  
 scarcely clear of the Island when a powerful fleet, consisting of  
 thirty-nine large ships, arrived from *Spain*, and anchored in the  
 Road. Almost without opposition the Spaniards became masters  
 of the Island, although the English and French, if they had  
 cordially joined, could have mustered a force of twelve hundred  
 men. Intelligence that the Spaniards intended this attack, had  
 been timely received in *France*; and M. de Cusac's squadron  
 had in consequence been dispatched to assist in the defence of  
*St. Christopher*; but the Spaniards being slow in their prepara-  
 tions, their fleet did not arrive at the time expected, and De  
 Cusac, hearing no news of them, presumed that they had given  
 up their design against *St. Christopher*. Without strengthening  
 the joint colony, he gave the English a lesson on moderation,  
 little calculated to incline them to co-operate heartily with the  
 French in defence of the Island, and sailed on a cruise to the  
*Gulf of Mexico*. Shortly after his departure, towards the end of  
 the year 1629, the Spanish fleet arrived. The colonists almost  
 immediately despaired of being able to oppose so great a force.  
 Many of the French embarked in their ships in time to effect  
 their escape, and to take refuge among the islands northward.  
 The remainder, with the English, lay at the disposal of the  
 Spanish commander, Don Frederic de *Toledo*. At this time  
*Spain* was at war with *England*, *France*, and *Holland*; and this  
 armament was designed ultimately to act against the *Hollanders*

The  
 English  
 and French  
 driven from  
*St. Christopher*  
 by the  
 Spaniards.

in

in *Brasil*, but was ordered by the way to drive the English and the French from the Island of *Saint Christopher*. Don Frederic would not weaken his force by leaving a garrison there, and was in haste to prosecute his voyage to *Brasil*. As the settlement of *Saint Christopher* had been established on regular government authorities, the settlers were treated as prisoners of war. To clear the Island in the most speedy manner, Don Frederic took many of the English on board his own fleet, and made as many of the other colonists embark as could be crowded in any vessels which could be found for them. He saw them get under sail, and leave the Island; and from those who remained, he required their parole, that they would depart by the earliest opportunity which should present itself, warning them, at the same time, that if, on his return from *Brasil*, he found any Englishmen or Frenchmen at *Saint Christopher*, they should be put to the sword. After this, he sailed for *Brasil*. As soon, however, as it was known that the Spanish fleet had left the West-Indian sea, the colonists, both English and French, returned to *Saint Christopher*, and repossessed themselves of their old quarters.

CHAP. 4.  
1629.

1630.  
They  
return.

The settlement of the Island *Saint Christopher* gave great encouragement to the hunters on the West coast of *Hispaniola*. Their manufactories for the curing of meat, and for drying the skins, multiplied; and as the value of them increased, they began to think it of consequence to provide for their security. To this end they took possession of the small Island *Tortuga*, near the North-west end of *Hispaniola*, where the Spaniards had placed a garrison, but which was too small to make opposition. There was a road for shipping, with good anchorage, at *Tortuga*; and its separation from the main land of *Hispaniola* seemed to be a good guarantee from sudden and unexpected attack. They built magazines there, for the lodgement of their goods, and

The Island  
*Tortuga*  
seized by  
the English  
and French  
Hunters.

**CHAP. 4.** regarded this Island as their head quarters, or place of general rendezvous to which to repair in times of danger. They elected no chief, erected no fortification, set up no authorities, nor fettered themselves by any engagement. All was voluntary; and they were negligently contented at having done so much towards their security.

Whence  
the Name  
Buccaneer.

About the time of their taking possession of *Tortuga*, they began to be known by the name of Buccaneers, of which appellation it will be proper to speak at some length.

The flesh of the cattle killed by the hunters, was cured to keep good for use, after a manner learnt from the Caribbe Indians, which was as follows: The meat was laid to be dried upon a wooden grate or hurdle (*grille de bois*) which the Indians called *barbecu*, placed at a good distance over a slow fire. The meat when cured was called *boucan*, and the same name was given to the place of their cookery. Pere Labat describes *Viande boucannée* to be, *Viande séché a petit feu et a la fumée*. The Caribbes are said to have sometimes served their prisoners after this fashion, '*Ils les mangent après les avoir bien boucannée, c'est à dire, rotis bien sec* \*.' The boucan was a very favourite method of cooking among these Indians. A Caribbe has been known, on returning home from fishing, fatigued and pressed with hunger, to have had the patience to wait the roasting of a fish on a wooden grate fixed two feet above the ground, over a fire so small as sometimes to require the whole day to dress it †.

The flesh of the cattle was in general dried in the smoke, without being salted. The *Dictionnaire de Trevoux* explains *Boucaner* to be '*faire sorer sans sel*,' to dry red without salt. But the flesh of wild hogs, and also of the beeves when intended for

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\* *Hist. des Antilles, par P. du Tertre.* Paris, 1667. Tome I. p. 415.

† *La Rochefort, sur le Repas des Carribes.*

for keeping a length of time, was first salted. The same thing was practised among the Brasilians. It was remarked in one of the earliest visits of the Portuguese to *Brasil*, that the natives (who were cannibals) kept human flesh salted and smoked, hanging up in their houses \*. The meat cured by the Buccaneers to sell to shipping for sea-store, it is probable was all salted. The process is thus described: 'The bones being taken out, the flesh was cut into convenient pieces and salted, and the next day was taken to the *boucan*.' Sometimes, to give a peculiar relish to the meat, the skin of the animal was cast into the fire under it. The meat thus cured was of a fine red colour, and of excellent flavour; but in six months after it was boucanned, it had little taste left, except of salt. The boucanned hog's flesh continued good a much longer time than the flesh of the beeves, if kept in dry places.

From adopting the boucan of the Caribbes, the hunters in *Hispaniola*, the Spaniards excepted, came to be called Boucaniers, but afterwards, according to a pronunciation more in favour with the English, Buccaneers†. Many of the French hunters were natives of *Normandy*; whence it became proverbial in some of the sea-ports of *Normandy* to say of a smoky house, *c'est un vrai Boucan*.

The French Buccaneers and Adventurers were also called Flibustiers, and more frequently by that than by any other name. The word Flibustier is merely the French mariner's mode of pronouncing the English word Freebooter, a name which long preceded that of Boucanier or Buccaneer, as the

The name  
Flibustier.

\* *History of Brasil*, by Robert Southey, p. 17.

† In some of the English accounts the name is written *Bucanier*; but uniformity in spelling was not much attended to at that time. Dampier wrote *Buccaneer*, which agrees with the present manner of pronouncing the word, and is to be esteemed the best authority.

CHAP. 4. the occupation of cruising against the Spaniards preceded that of hunting and curing meat. Some authors have given a derivation to the name *Flibustier* from the word *Flyboat*, because, say they, the French hunters in *Hispaniola* bought vessels of the Dutch, called *Flyboats*, to cruise upon the Spaniards. There are two objections to this derivation. First, the word *flyboat*, is only an English translation of the Dutch word *fluyt*, which is the proper denomination of the vessel intended by it. Secondly, it would not very readily occur to any one to purchase Dutch *fluyts*, or *flyboats*, for chasing vessels.

Some have understood the *Boucanier* and *Flibustier* to be distinct both in person and character\*. This was probably the case with a few, after the settlement of *Tortuga*; but before, and very generally afterwards, the occupations were joined, making one of amphibious character. Ships from all parts of the *West Indies* frequented *Tortuga*, and it continually happened that some among the crews quitted their ships to turn *Buccaneers*; whilst among the *Buccaneers* some would be desirous to quit their hunting employment, to go on a cruise, to make a voyage, or to return to *Europe*. The two occupations of hunting and cruising being so common to the same person, caused the names *Flibustier* and *Buccaneer* to be esteemed synonymous, signifying always and principally the being at war with the Spaniards. The *Buccaneer* and *Flibustier* therefore, as long as they continued in a state of independence, are to be considered as the same character, exercising sometimes one, some-  
times

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\* The French account says, that after taking possession of *Tortuga*, the Adventurers divided into three classes: that those who occupied themselves in the chase, took the name of *Boucaniers*; those who went on cruises, the name of *Flibustiers*; and a third class, who cultivated the soil, called themselves *Habitans* (Inhabitants.) See *Histoire des Avanturiers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes*. Par. Alex. Ol. Oermelin. Paris 1688, vol. i. p. 22.



times the other employment ; and either name was taken by them indifferently, whether they were employed on the sea or on the land. But a fanciful kind of inversion took place, through the different caprices of the French and English adventurers. The greater part of the first cattle hunters were French, and the greater number of the first cruisers against the Spaniards were English. The French adventurers, nevertheless, had a partiality for the name of *Flibustier* ; whilst the English shewed a like preference for the name of *Buccaneer*, which, as will be seen, was assumed by many hundred seamen of their nation, who were never employed either in hunting or in the boucan.

A propensity to make things which are extraordinary appear more so, has caused many peculiar customs to be attributed to the *Buccaneers*, which, it is pretended, were observed as strictly as if they had been established laws. It is said that every *Buccaneer* had his chosen and declared comrade, between whom property was in common, and if one died, the survivor was inheritor of the whole. This was called by the French *Matelotage*. It is however acknowledged that the *Matelotage* was not a compulsory regulation ; and that the *Buccaneers* sometimes bequeathed by will. A general right of participation in some things, among which was meat for present consumption, was acknowledged among them ; and it is said, that bolts, locks, and every species of fastening, were prohibited, it being held that the use of such securities would have impeached the honour of their vocation. Yet on commencing *Buccaneer*, it was customary with those who were of respectable lineage, to relinquish their family name, and assume some other, as a *nom de guerre*. Their dress, which was uniformly slovenly when engaged in the business of hunting or of the boucan, is mentioned as a prescribed *costume*, but which doubtless was

CHAP. 4  
Customs  
attributed  
to the  
*Buccaneers*.

CHAP. 4. was prescribed only by their own negligence and indolence; in particular, that they wore an unwashed shirt and pantaloons dyed in the blood of the animals they had killed. Other distinctions, equally capricious, and to little purpose, are related, which have no connexion with their history. Some curious anecdotes are produced, to shew the great respect some among them entertained for religion and for morality. A certain Flibustier captain, named Daniel, shot one of his crew in the church, for behaving irreverently during the performance of mass. Raveneau de Lussan (whose adventures will be frequently mentioned) took the occupation of a Buccaneer, because he was in debt, and wished, as every honest man should do, to have wherewithal to satisfy his creditors.

In their sea enterprises, they followed most of the customs which are generally observed in private ships of war; and sometimes were held together by a subscribed written agreement, by the English called Charter-party; by the French *Chasse-partie*, which might in this case be construed a Chasing agreement. Whenever it happened that *Spain* was at open and declared war with any of the maritime nations of *Europe*, the Buccaneers who were natives of the country at war with her, obtained commissions, which rendered the vessels in which they cruised, regular privateers.

The English adventurers sometimes, as is seen in Dampier, called themselves Privateers, applying the term to persons in the same manner we now apply it to private ships of war. The Dutch, whose terms are generally faithful to the meaning intended, called the adventurers *Zee Roovers*; the word *roover* in the Dutch language comprising the joint sense of the two English words rover and robber.

## C H A P. V.

*Treaty made by the Spaniards with Don Henriquez. Increase of English and French in the West Indies. Tortuga surprised by the Spaniards. Policy of the English and French Governments with respect to the Buccaneers. Mansvelt, his attempt to form an independent Buccaneer Establishment. French West-India Company. Morgan succeeds Mansvelt as Chief of the Buccaneers.*

THE Spanish Government at length began to think it CHAP. 5.  
 necessary to relax from their large pretensions, and in 1630.  
 the year 1630 entered into treaties with other European nations, for mutual security of their West-India possessions. In a Treaty concluded that year with *Great Britain*, it was declared, that peace, amity, and friendship, should be observed between their respective subjects in all parts of the world. But this general specification was not sufficient to produce effect in the *West Indies*.

In *Hispaniola*, in the year 1633, the Government at *San Domingo* concluded a treaty with Don Henriquez; which was 1633.  
 the more readily accorded to him, because it was apprehended the revolted natives would league with the Brethren of the Coast. By this treaty all the followers of Don Henriquez who could claim descent from the original natives, in number four thousand persons, were declared free and under his protection, and lands were marked out for them. But, what is revolting to all generous hopes of human nature, the negroes were abandoned to the Spaniards. Magnanimity was not to be expected of the  
 natives

CHAP. 5.  
1633.

natives of *Hayti*; yet they had shewn themselves capable of exertion for their own relief; and a small degree more of firmness would have included these, their most able champions, in the treaty. This weak and wicked defection from friends, confederated with them in one common and righteous cause, seems to have wrought its own punishment. The vigilance and vigour of mind of the negro might have guarded against encroachments upon the independence obtained; instead of which, the wretched Haytians in a short time fell again wholly into the grinding hands of the Spaniards: and in the early part of the eighteenth century, it was reckoned that the whole number living, of the descendants of the party of Don Henriquez, did not quite amount to one hundred persons.

The settlement of the Buccaneers at *Tortuga* drew many Europeans there, as well settlers as others, to join in their adventures and occupations. They began to clear and cultivate the grounds, which were before overgrown with woods, and made plantations of tobacco, which proved to be of extraordinary good quality.

Increase of  
the English  
and French  
Settlements  
in the  
West Indies.

More Europeans, not Spaniards, consequently allies of the Buccaneers, continued to pour into the *West Indies*, and formed settlements on their own accounts, on some of the islands of the small *Antilles*. These settlements were not composed of mixtures of different people, but were most of them all English or all French; and as they grew into prosperity, they were taken possession of for the crowns of *England* or of *France* by the respective governments. Under the government authorities new colonists were sent out, royal governors were appointed, and codes of law established, which combined, with the security of the colony, the interests of the mother-country. But at the same time these benefits were conferred, grants of lands were made under royal authority, which dispossessed many persons, who, by labour

labour and perilous adventure, and some who at considerable expence, had achieved establishments for themselves, in favour of men till then no way concerned in any of the undertakings. In some cases, grants of whole islands were obtained by purchase or favour; and the first settlers, who had long before gained possession, and who had cleared and brought the ground into a state for cultivation, were rendered dependent upon the new proprietary governors, to whose terms they were obliged to submit, or to relinquish their tenure. Such were the hard accompaniments to the protection afforded by the governments of *France* and *Great Britain* to colonies, which, before they were acknowledged legitimate offsprings of the mother-country, had grown into consideration through their own exertions; and only because they were found worth adopting, were now received into the parent family. The discontents created by this rapacious conduct of the governments, and the disregard shewn to the claims of the first settlers, instigated some to resistance and rebellion, and caused many to join the Buccaneers. The Caribbe inhabitants were driven from their lands also with as little ceremony.

The Buccaneer colony at *Tortuga* had not been beheld with indifference by the Spaniards. The Buccaneers, with the carelessness natural to men in their loose condition of life, under neither command nor guidance, continued to trust to the supineness of the enemy for their safety, and neglected all precaution. In the year 1638, the Spaniards with a large force fell unexpectedly upon *Tortuga*, at a time when the greater number of the settlers were absent in *Hispaniola* on the chase; and those who were on the Island, having neither fortress nor government, became an easy prey to the Spaniards, who made a general massacre of all who fell into their hands, not only of those they surprised in the beginning, but many who afterwards

CHAP. 5.

1638.

Tortuga  
surprised  
by the  
Spaniards.

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H

came

CHAP. 5. came in from the woods to implore their lives on condition of  
 1638. returning to *Europe*, they hanged. A few kept themselves concealed, till they found an opportunity to cross over to their brethren in *Hispaniola*.

It happened not to suit the convenience of the Spaniards to keep a garrison at *Tortuga*, and they were persuaded the Buccaneers would not speedily again expose themselves to a repetition of such treatment as they had just experienced; therefore they contented themselves with destroying the buildings, and as much as they could of the plantations; after which they returned to *San Domingo*. In a short time after their departure, the remnant of the Hunters collected to the number of three hundred, again fixed themselves at *Tortuga*, and, for the first time, elected a commander.

As the hostility of the Buccaneers had constantly and solely been directed against the Spaniards, all other Europeans in the *West Indies* regarded them as champions in the common cause, and the severities which had been exercised against them created less of dread than of a spirit of vengeance. The numbers of the Buccaneers were quickly recruited by volunteers of English, French, and Dutch, from all parts; and both the occupations of hunting and cruising were pursued with more than usual eagerness. The French and English Governors in the *West Indies*, influenced by the like feelings, either openly, or by connivance, gave constant encouragement to the Buccaneers. The French Governor at *St. Christopher*, who was also Governor General for the French West-India Islands, was most ready to send assistance to the Buccaneers. This Governor, Monsieur de Poincy, an enterprising and capable man, had formed a design to take possession of the Island *Tortuga* for the crown of *France*; which he managed to put in execution three years after, having by that time predisposed  
 some

some of the principal French Buccaneers to receive a garrison of the French king's troops. This appropriation was made in 1641; and De Poincy, thinking his acquisition would be more secure to *France* by the absence of the English, forced all the English Buccaneers to quit the Island. The French writers say, that before the interposition of the French Governor, the English Buccaneers took advantage of their numbers, and domineered in *Tortuga*. The English Governors in the *West Indies* could not at this time shew the same tender regard for the English Buccaneers, as the support they received from home was very precarious, owing to the disputes which then subsisted in *England* between King Charles and the English Parliament, which engrossed so much of the public attention as to leave little to colonial concerns.

CHAP. 5.

1641.

*Tortuga*  
taken pos-  
session of  
for the  
Crown of  
*France*.

The French Commander de Poincy pushed his success. In his appointment of a Governor to *Tortuga*, he added the title of Governor of the West coast of *Hispaniola*, and by degrees he introduced French garrisons. This was the first footing obtained by the Government of *France* in *Hispaniola*. The same policy was observed there respecting the English as at *Tortuga*, by which means was effected a separation of the English Buccaneers from the French. After this time, it was only occasionally, and from accidental circumstances, or by special agreement, that they acted in concert. The English adventurers, thus elbowed out of *Hispaniola* and *Tortuga*, lost the occupation of hunting cattle and of the boucan, but they continued to be distinguished by the appellation of Buccaneers, and, when not cruising, most generally harboured at the Islands possessed by the British.

Hitherto, it had rested in the power of the Buccaneers to have formed themselves into an independent state. Being composed of people of different nations, the admission of a Governor



CHAP. 5.

1641.

Policy of  
the English  
and French  
Govern-  
ments with  
respect  
to the  
Buccaneers.

from any one, might easily have been resisted. Now, they were considered in a kind of middle state, between that of Buccaneers and of men returned to their native allegiance. It seemed now in the power of the English and French Governments to put a stop to their cruisings, and to furnish them with more honest employment; but politics of a different cast prevailed. The Buccaneers were regarded as profitable to the Colonies, on account of the prizes they brought in; and even vanity had a share in their being countenanced. The French authors call them *nos braves*, and the English speak of their ‘unparalleled exploits.’ The policy both of *England* and of *France* with respect to the Buccaneers, seems to have been well described in the following sentence: *On laissoit faire des Avanturiers, qu'on pouvoit toujours desavouer, mais dont les succes pouvoient etre utiles*: i.e. ‘they connived at the actions of these Adventurers, which could always be disavowed, and whose successes might be serviceable.’ This was not esteemed *friponnerie*, but a maxim of sound state policy. In the character given of a good French West-India governor, he is praised, for that, ‘besides encouraging the cultivation of lands, ‘he never neglected to encourage the *Flibustiers*. It was a ‘certain means of improving the Colony, by attracting thither ‘the young and enterprising. He would scarcely receive a ‘slight portion of what he was entitled to from his right of ‘bestowing commissions in time of war\*. And when we ‘were at peace, and our *Flibustiers*, for want of other employ- ‘ment, would go cruising, and would carry their prizes to the ‘English Islands, he was at the pains of procuring them ‘commissions from *Portugal*, which country was then at war ‘with *Spain*; in virtue of which our *Flibustiers* continued to  
‘ make

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\* The Governor or Admiral, who granted the commission, claimed one tenth of all prizes made under its authority.

‘ make themselves redoubtable to the Spaniards, and to spread  
‘ riches and abundance in our Colonies.’ This panegyric was  
bestowed by Père Labat ; who seems to have had more of  
national than of moral or religious feeling on this head.

CHAP. 5.

It was a powerful consideration with the French and English Governments, to have at their occasional disposal, without trouble or expence, a well trained military force, always at hand, and willing to be employed upon emergency ; who required no pay nor other recompense for their services and constant readiness, than their share of plunder, and that their piracies upon the Spaniards should pass unnoticed.

Towards the end of 1644, a new Governor General for the French West-India possessions was appointed by the French Regency (during the minority of Louis XIV.); but the Commander de Poincy did not choose to resign, and the colonists were inclined to support him. Great discontents prevailed in the French Colonies, which rendered them liable to being shaken by civil wars ; and the apprehensions of the Regency on this head enabled De Poincy to stand his ground. He remained Governor General over the French Colonies not only for the time, but was continued in that office, by succeeding administrations, many years.

1644.

About the year 1654, a large party of Buccaneers, French and English, joined in an expedition on the Continent. They ascended a river of the *Mosquito shore*, a small distance on the South side of *Cape Gracias a Dios*, in canoes ; and after labouring nearly a month against a strong stream and waterfalls, they left their canoes, and marched to the town of *Nueva Segovia*, which they plundered, and then returned down the river.

1654.

The  
Buccaneers  
plunder  
New  
Segovia.

In the same year, the Spaniards took *Tortuga* from the French.

The  
Spaniards  
retake  
Tortuga.

In

## CHAP. 5.

1655.  
With the  
assistance  
of the  
Buccaneers,  
the English  
take  
Jamaica :  
1660 ;  
And the  
French  
retake  
Tortuga.

In the year following, 1655, *England* being at war with *Spain*, a large force was sent from *England* to attempt the conquest of the Island *Hispaniola*. In this attempt they failed ; but afterwards fell upon *Jamaica*, of which Island they made themselves masters, and kept possession. In the conquest of *Jamaica*, the English were greatly assisted by the *Buccaneers* ; and a few years after, with their assistance also, the French regained possession of *Tortuga*.

On the recovery of *Tortuga*, the French *Buccaneers* greatly increased in the Northern and Western parts of *Hispaniola*. *Spain* also sent large reinforcements from *Europe* ; and for some years war was carried on with great spirit and animosity on both sides. During the heat of this contest, the French *Buccaneers* followed more the occupation of hunting, and less that of cruising, than at any other period of their history.

The Spaniards finding they could not expel the French from *Hispaniola*, determined to join their efforts to those of the French hunters, for the destruction of the cattle and wild hogs on the Island, so as to render the business of hunting unproductive. But the French had begun to plant ; and the depriving them of the employment of hunting, drove them to other occupations not less contrary to the interest and wishes of the Spaniards. The less profit they found in the chase, the more they became cultivators and cruisers.

The *Buccaneer* Histories of this period abound with relations of daring actions performed by them ; but many of which are chiefly remarkable for the ferocious cruelty of the leaders by whom they were conducted. Pierre, a native of *Dieppe*, for his success received to his name the addition of *le grand*, and is mentioned as one of the first *Flibustiers* who obtained much notoriety. In a boat, with a crew of twenty-eight men, he surprised

Pierre le  
Grand,  
a French  
Buccaneer.

surprised and took the Ship of the Vice-Admiral of the Spanish galeons, as she was sailing homeward-bound with a rich freight. He set the Spanish crew on shore at *Cape Tiburon*, the West end of *Hispaniola*, and sailed in his prize to *France*. A Frenchman, named Alexandre, also in a small vessel, took a Spanish ship of war.

CHAP. 5.

It is related of another Frenchman, a native of *Languedoc*, named Montbars, that on reading a history of the cruelty of the Spaniards to the Americans, he conceived such an implacable hatred against the Spaniards, that he determined on going to the *West Indies* to join the Buccaneers; and that he there pursued his vengeance with so much ardour as to acquire the surname of the Exterminator.

Montbars,  
surnamed  
the Exterminator.

One Buccaneer of some note was a native of *Portugal*, known by the name of Bartolomeo Portuguez; who, however, was more renowned for his wonderful escapes, both in battle, and from the gallows, than for his other actions.

Bartolomeo  
Portuguez.

But no one of the Buccaneers hitherto named, arrived at so great a degree of notoriety, as a Frenchman, called François L'Olonnois, a native of part of the French coast which is near the sands of *Olonne*, but whose real name is not known. This man, and Michel le Basque, both Buccaneer commanders, at the head of 650 men, took the towns of *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar* in the *Gulf of Venezuela*, on the *Tierra Firma*. The booty they obtained by the plunder and ransom of these places, was estimated at 400,000 crowns. The barbarities practised on the prisoners could not be exceeded. Olonnois was possessed with an ambition to make himself renowned for being terrible. At one time, it is said, he put the whole crew of a Spanish ship, ninety men, to death, performing himself the office of executioner, by beheading them. He caused the crews of four other vessels to be thrown into the sea; and more than

L'Olonnois,  
a French  
Buccaneer,And Michel  
le Basque,  
take Mara-  
caibo and  
Gibraltar.Outrages  
committed  
by  
L'Olonnois.

## CHAP. 5.

than once, in his frenzies, he tore out the hearts of his victims, and devoured them. Yet this man had his encomiasts; so much will loose notions concerning glory, aided by a little partiality, mislead even sensible men. Père Charlevoix says, *Celui de tous, dont les grandes actions illustrerent davantage les premieres années du gouvernement de M. d'Ogeron, fut l'Olonnois. Ses premiers succès furent suivis de quelques malheurs, qui ne servirent qu'à donner un nouveau lustre à sa gloire.* The career of this savage was terminated by the Indians of the coast of *Darien*, on which he had landed.

The Buccaneers now went in such formidable numbers, that several Spanish towns, both on the Continent and among the Islands of the *West Indies*, submitted to pay them contribution.

Mansvelt, a  
Buccaneer  
Chief;  
his Plan for  
forming a  
Buccaneer  
Establish-  
ment.  
1664.

And at this time, a Buccaneer commander, named Mansvelt, more provident and more ambitious in his views than any who preceded him, formed a project for founding an independent Buccaneer establishment. Of what country Mansvelt was native, does not appear; but he was so popular among the Buccaneers, that both French and English were glad to have him for their leader. The greater number of his followers in his attempt to form a settlement were probably English, as he fitted out in *Jamaica*. A Welshman, named Henry Morgan, who had made some successful cruises as a Buccaneer, went with him as second in command. The place designed by them

Island  
St<sup>e</sup> Katalina,  
or  
Providence;  
since named  
Old  
Providence.

for their establishment, was an Island named *St<sup>e</sup> Katalina*, or *Providence*, situated in latitude 13° 24' N, about 40 leagues to the Eastward of the *Mosquito shore*. This Island is scarcely more than two leagues in its greatest extent, but has a harbour capable of being easily fortified against an enemy; and very near to its North end is a much smaller Island. The late Charts assign the name of *St<sup>e</sup> Katalina* to the small Island, and give to the larger Island that of *Old Providence*, the epithet *Old* having been

been added to distinguish this from the *Providence* of the *Bahama Islands*. At the time Mansvelt undertook his scheme of settlement, this *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*, or *Providence Island*, was occupied by the Spaniards, who had a fort and good garrison there. Some time in or near the year 1664, Mansvelt sailed thither from *Jamaica*, with fifteen vessels and 500 men. He assaulted and took the fort, which he garrisoned with one hundred Buccaneers and all the slaves he had taken, and left the command to a Frenchman, named Le Sieur Simon. At the end of his cruise, he returned to *Jamaica*, intending to procure there recruits for his Settlement of *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*; but the Governor of *Jamaica*, however friendly to the Buccaneers whilst they made *Jamaica* their home, saw many reasons for disliking Mansvelt's plan, and would not consent to his raising men.

CHAP. 5.  
1664.

Not being able to overcome the Governor's unwillingness, Mansvelt sailed for *Tortuga*, to try what assistance he could procure there; but in the passage he was suddenly taken ill, and died. For a length of time after, Simon remained at *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina* with his garrison, in continual expectation of seeing or hearing from Mansvelt; instead of which, a large Spanish force arrived and besieged his fort, when, learning of Mansvelt's death, and seeing no prospect of receiving reinforcement or relief, he found himself obliged to surrender.

Death of  
Mansvelt.

The government in *France* had appointed commissioners on behalf of the French West-India Company, to take all the Islands called the *French Antilles*, out of the hands of individuals, subjects of *France*, who had before obtained possession, and to put them into the possession of the said Company, to be governed according to such provisions as they should think proper. In February 1665, M. d'Ogeron was appointed Governor of *Tortuga*, and of the French settlements in *Hispaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, as the Island was now more commonly called. On

French  
West-India  
Company.

1665.

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his

CHAP. 5. his arrival at *Tortuga*, the French adventurers, both there and  
 1665. in *Hispaniola*, declared that if he came to govern in the name  
 The French of the King of *France*, he should find faithful and obedient  
 settlers dispute their authority. subjects; but they would not submit themselves to any Com-  
 pany; and in no case would they consent to the prohibiting  
 their trade with the *Hollanders*, 'with whom,' said the Buc-  
 caneers, 'we have been in the constant habit of trading, and  
 'were so before it was known in *France* that there was a single  
 'Frenchman in *Tortuga*, or on the coast of *St. Domingo*.'

1665-7. M. d'Ogeron had recourse to dissimulation to allay these  
 discontents. He yielded consent to the condition respecting  
 the commerce with the Dutch, fully resolved not to observe it  
 longer than till his authority should be sufficiently established  
 for him to break it with safety; and to secure the commerce  
 within his government exclusively to the French West-India  
 Company, who, when rid of all competitors, would be able to  
 fix their own prices. It was not long before M. d'Ogeron judged  
 the opportunity was arrived for effecting this revocation without  
 danger; but it caused a revolt of the French settlers in  
*St. Domingo*, which did not terminate without bloodshed and an  
 execution; and so partial as well as defective in principle were  
 the historians who have related the fact, that they have at the  
 same time commended M. d'Ogeron for his probity and simple  
 manners. In the end, he prevailed in establishing a monopoly  
 for the Company, to the injury of his old companions the French  
 Buccaneers, with whom he had at a former period associated,  
 and who had been his benefactors in a time of his distress.

Morgan succeeds Mansvelt; plunders Puerto del Principe. On the death of Mansvelt, Morgan was regarded as the  
 most capable and most fortunate leader of any of the *Jamaica*  
 Buccaneers. With a body of several hundred men, who placed  
 themselves under his command, he took and plundered the  
 town of *Puerto del Principe* in *Cuba*. A quarrel happened at  
 this



this place among the Buccaneers, in which a Frenchman was treacherously slain by an Englishman. The French took to arms, to revenge the death of their countryman ; but Morgan pacified them by putting the murderer in irons, and promising he should be delivered up to justice on their return to *Jamaica* ; which was done, and the criminal was hanged. But in some other respects, the French were not so well satisfied with Morgan for their commander, as they had been with Mansvelt. Morgan was a great rogue, and little respected the old proverb of, Honour among Thieves : this had been made manifest to the French, and almost all of them separated from him.

*Maracaibo* was now a second time pillaged by the French Buccaneers, under Michel le Basque.

Morgan's next undertaking was against *Porto Bello*, one of the principal and best fortified ports belonging to the Spaniards in the *West Indies*. He had under his command only 460 men ; but not having revealed his design to any person, he came on the town by surprise, and found it unprepared. Shocking cruelties are related to have been committed in this expedition. Among many others, that a castle having made more resistance than had been expected, Morgan, after its surrendering, shut up the garrison in it, and caused fire to be set to the magazine, destroying thereby the castle and the garrison together. In the attack of another fort, he compelled a number of religious persons, both male and female, whom he had taken prisoners, to carry and plant scaling ladders against the walls ; and many of them were killed by those who defended the fort. The Buccaneers in the end became masters of the place, and the use they made of their victory corresponded with their actions in obtaining it. Many prisoners died under tortures inflicted on them to make them discover concealed treasures, whether they knew of any or not. A large ransom was also extorted for the town and prisoners.

CHAP. 5.  
1665-7.

1667.  
Maracaibo  
again  
pillaged.

1668.  
Morgan  
takes  
PortoBello:

Exercises  
great  
Cruelty.

CHAP. 5.  
1668.

This success attracted other Buccaneers, among them the French again, to join Morgan; and by a kind of circular notice they rendezvoused in large force under his command at the *Isla de la Vaca* (by the French called *Isle Avache*) near the SW part of *Hispaniola*.

A large French Buccaneer ship was lying at *la Vaca*, which was not of this combination, the commander and crew of which refused to join with Morgan, though much solicited. Morgan was angry, but dissembled, and with a show of cordiality invited the French captain and his officers to an entertainment on board his own ship. When they were his guests, they found themselves his prisoners; and their ship, being left without officers, was taken without resistance. The men put by Morgan in charge of the ship, fell to drinking; and, whether from their drunkenness and negligence, or from the revenge of any of the prisoners, cannot be known, she suddenly blew up, by which 350 English Buccaneers, and all the Frenchmen on board her, perished. *The History of the Buccaneers of America*, in which the event is related, adds by way of remark, 'Thus was this unjust action of Captain Morgan's soon followed by divine justice; for this ship, the largest in his fleet, was blown up in the air, with 350 Englishmen and all the French prisoners.' This comment seems to have suggested to Voltaire the ridicule he has thrown on the indiscriminate manner in which men sometimes pronounce misfortune to be a peculiar judgment of God, in the dialogue he put into the mouths of Candide and Martin, on the wicked Dutch skipper being drowned.

1669.  
Maracaibo  
and  
Gibraltar  
plundered  
by Morgan.

From *Isla de la Vaca* Morgan sailed with his fleet to *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar*; which unfortunate towns were again sacked. It was a frequent practice with these desperadoes to secure their prisoners by shutting them up in churches, where it was easy to keep guard over them. This was done by Morgan at *Maracaibo*

*Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar*, and with so little care for their subsistence, that many of the prisoners were actually starved to death, whilst their merciless victors were rioting in the plunder of their houses.

CHAP. 5.  
1669.

Morgan remained so long at *Gibraltar*, that the Spaniards had time to repair and put in order a castle at the entrance of the *Lagune of Maracaibo*; and three large Spanish ships of war arrived and took stations near the castle, by which they hoped to cut off the retreat of the pirates. The *Buccaneer Histories* give Morgan much credit here, for his management in extricating his fleet and prizes from their difficult situation, which is related to have been in the following manner. He converted one of his vessels into a fire-ship, but so fitted up as to preserve the appearance of a ship intended for fighting, and clumps of wood were stuck up in her, dressed with hats on, to resemble men. By means of this ship, the rest of his fleet following close at hand, he took one of the Spanish ships, and destroyed the two others. Still there remained the castle to be passed; which he effected without loss, by a stratagem which deceived the Spaniards from their guard. During the day, and in sight of the castle, he filled his boats with armed men, and they rowed from the ships to a part of the shore which was well concealed by thickets. After waiting as long as might be supposed to be occupied in the landing, all the men lay down close in the bottom of the boats, except two in each, who rowed them back, going to the sides of the ships which were farthest from the castle. This being repeated several times, caused the Spaniards to believe that the *Buccaneers* intended an assault by land with their whole force; and they made disposition with their cannon accordingly, leaving the side of the castle towards the sea unprovided. When it was night, and the ebb tide began to make, Morgan's fleet took up their anchors, and, without

His Contrivances in effecting his Retreat.

CHAP. 5.  
1669.

without setting sail, it being moonlight, they fell down the river, unperceived, till they were nigh the castle. They then set their sails, and fired upon the castle, and before the Spaniards could bring their guns back to return the fire, the ships were past. The value of the booty made in this expedition was 250,000 pieces of eight.

Some minor actions of the Buccaneers are omitted here, not being of sufficient consequence to excuse detaining the Reader, to whom will next be related one of their most remarkable exploits.

## C H A P. VI.

*Treaty of America. Expedition of the Buccaneers against Panama. Exquemelin's History of the American Sea Rovers. Misconduct of the European Governors in the West Indies.*

**I**N July 1670, was concluded a Treaty between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, made expressly with the intention of terminating the Buccaneer war, and of settling all disputes between the subjects of the two countries in *America*. It has been with this especial signification entitled the Treaty of *America*, and is the first which appears to have been dictated by a mutual disposition to establish peace in the *West Indies*. The articles particularly directed to this end are the following:—

CHAP. 6.  
1670.

Art. II. There shall be an universal peace and sincere friendship, as well in *America*, as in other parts, between the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, their heirs and successors, their kingdoms, plantations, &c.

Treaty  
between  
Great  
Britain and  
Spain,  
called the  
Treaty of  
America.

III. That all hostilities, depredations, &c. shall cease between the subjects of the said Kings.

IV. The two Kings shall take care that their subjects forbear all acts of hostility, and shall call in all commissions, letters of marque and reprisals, and punish all offenders, obliging them to make reparation.

VII. All past injuries, on both sides, shall be buried in oblivion.

VIII. The King of *Great Britain* shall hold and enjoy all the lands, countries, &c. he is now possessed of in *America*.

IX. The subjects on each side shall forbear trading or sailing to any places whatsoever under the dominion of the other, without particular licence.

XIV. Par-

CHAP. 6.  
1670.

XIV. Particular offences shall be repaired in the common course of justice, and no reprisals made unless justice be denied, or unreasonably retarded.

When notice of this Treaty was received in the *West Indies*, the Buccaneers, immediately as of one accord, resolved to undertake some grand expedition. Many occurrences had given rise to jealousies between the English and the French in the *West Indies*; but Morgan's reputation as a commander was so high, that adventurers from all parts signified their readiness to join him, and he appointed *Cape Tiburon* on the West of *Hispaniola* for the place of general rendezvous. In consequence of this summons, in the beginning of December 1670, a fleet was there collected under his command, consisting of no less than thirty-seven vessels of different sizes, and above 2000 men. Having so large a force, he held council with the principal commanders, and proposed for their determination, which they should attempt of the three places, *Carthagená*, *Vera Cruz*, and *Panama*. *Panama* was believed to be the richest, and on that City the lot fell.

A century before, when the name of Buccaneer was not known, roving adventurers had crossed the *Isthmus of America* from the *West Indies* to the *South Sea*; but the fate of Oxnam and his companions deterred others from the like attempt, until the time of the Buccaneers, who, as they increased in numbers, extended their enterprises, urged by a kind of necessity, the *West Indies* not furnishing plunder sufficient to satisfy so many men, whose modes of expenditure were not less profligate than their means of obtaining were violent and iniquitous.

Expedition  
of the  
Buccaneers  
against  
*Panama*.

The rendezvous appointed by Morgan for meeting his confederates was distant from any authority which could prevent or impede their operations; and whilst they remained on the coast of *Hispaniola*, he employed men to hunt cattle, and cure meat.

He

He also sent vessels to collect maize, at the settlements on the *Tierra Firma*. Specific articles of agreement were drawn up and subscribed to, for the distribution of plunder. Morgan, as commander in chief, was to receive one hundredth part; each captain was to have eight shares; provision was stipulated for the maimed and wounded, and rewards for those who should particularly distinguish themselves. These matters being settled, on December the 16th, the whole fleet sailed from *Cape Tiburon*; on the 20th, they arrived at the Island *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*, then occupied by the Spaniards, who had garrisoned it chiefly with criminals sentenced to serve there by way of punishment. Morgan had fully entered into the project of Mansvelt for forming an establishment at *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*, and he was not the less inclined to it now that he considered himself as the head of the Buccaneers. The Island surrendered upon summons. It is related, that at the request of the Governor, in which Morgan indulged him, a military farce was performed; Morgan causing cannon charged only with powder to be fired at the fort, which returned the like fire for a decent time, and then lowered their flag.

CHAP. 6.

1670.

Expedition  
against  
Panama.

December.

They take  
the Island  
*S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*.

Morgan judged it would contribute to the success of the proposed expedition against *Panama*, to make himself master of the fort or castle of *San Lorenzo* at the entrance of the *River Chagre*. For this purpose he sent a detachment of 400 men under the command of an old Buccaneer named Brodely, and in the mean time remained himself with the main body of his forces at *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*, to avoid giving the Spaniards cause to suspect his further designs.

The Castle of *Chagre* was strong, both in its works and in situation, being built on the summit of a steep hill. It was valiantly assaulted, and no less valiantly defended. The Buccaneers were once forced to retreat. They returned to the attack, and were nearly a second time driven back, when a

Attack of  
the Castle  
at the River  
*Chagre*.

VOL. IV.

K

powder



## CHAP. 6.

1670.

Expedition  
against  
Panama.

powder magazine in the fort blew up, and the mischief and confusion thereby occasioned gave the Buccaneers opportunity to force entrance through the breaches they had made. The Governor of the castle refused to take quarter which was offered him by the Buccaneers, as did also some of the Spanish soldiers. More than 200 men of 314 which composed the garrison were killed. The loss on the side of the Buccaneers was above 100 men killed outright, and 70 wounded.

1671.

January.

March of  
theBuccaneers  
across the  
Isthmus.

On receiving intelligence of the castle being taken, Morgan repaired with the rest of his men from *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*. He set the prisoners to work to repair the Castle of *San Lorenzo*, in which he stationed a garrison of 500 men; he also appointed 150 men to take care of the ships; and on the 18th of January 1671 \*, he set forward at the head of 1200 men for *Panama*. One party with artillery and stores embarked in canoes, to mount the *River Chagre*, the course of which is extremely serpentine. At the end of the second day, however, they quitted the canoes, on account of the many obstructions from trees which had fallen in the river, and because the river was at this time in many places almost dry; but the way by land was also found so difficult for the carriage of stores, that the canoes were again resorted to. On the sixth day, when they had expended great part of their travelling store of provisions, they had the good fortune to discover a barn full of maize. They saw many native Indians, who all kept at a distance, and it was in vain endeavoured to overtake some.

On the seventh day they came to a village called *Cruz*, the inhabitants of which had set fire to their houses, and fled.

They

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\* It is proper to mention, that an erroneously printed date, in the English edition of the *Buccaneers of America*, occasioned a mistake to be made in the account given of Narbrough's Voyage, respecting the time the Buccaneers kept possession of *Panama*. See Vol. III. of *Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea*, p. 374.

They found there, however, fifteen jars of Peruvian wine, and a sack of bread. The village of *Cruz* is at the highest part of the *River Chagre* to which boats or canoes can arrive. It was reckoned to be eight leagues distant from *Panama*.

CHAP. 6.

1671.

January.

Expedition  
against  
Panama.

On the ninth day of their journey, they came in sight of the *South Sea*; and here they were among fields in which cattle grazed. Towards evening, they had sight of the steeples of *Panama*. In the course of their march thus far from the Castle of *Chagre*, they lost, by being fired at from concealed places, ten men killed; and as many more were wounded.

*Panama* had not the defence of regular fortifications. Some works had been raised, but in parts the city lay open, and was to be won or defended by plain fighting. According to the Buccaneer account, the Spaniards had about 2000 infantry and 400 horse; which force, it is to be supposed, was in part composed of inhabitants and slaves.

January the 27th, early in the morning, the Buccaneers resumed their march towards the city. The Spaniards came out to meet them. In this battle, the Spaniards made use of wild bulls, which they drove upon the Buccaneers to disorder their ranks; but it does not appear to have had much effect. In the end, the Spaniards gave way, and before night, the Buccaneers were masters of the city. All that day, the Buccaneers gave no quarter, either during the battle, or afterwards. Six hundred Spaniards fell. The Buccaneers lost many men, but the number is not specified.

27th.

The City of  
Panama  
taken.

One of the first precautions taken by Morgan after his victory, was to prevent drunkenness among his men: to which end, he procured to have it reported to him that all the wine in the city had been poisoned by the inhabitants; and on the ground of this intelligence, he strictly prohibited every one, under severe penalties, from tasting wine. Before they had well

K 2

fixed

## CHAP. 6.

1671.

Expedition  
against  
Panama.The City  
burnt.

fixed their quarters in *Panama*, several parts of the city burst out in flames, which spread so rapidly, that in a short time many magnificent edifices built with cedar, and a great part of the city, were burnt to the ground. Whether this was done designedly, or happened accidentally, owing to the consternation of the inhabitants during the assault, has been disputed. Morgan is accused of having directed some of his people to commit this mischief, but no motive is assigned that could induce him to an act which cut off his future prospect of ransom. Morgan charged it upon the Spaniards; and it is acknowledged the Buccaneers gave all the assistance they were able to those of the inhabitants who endeavoured to stop the progress of the fire, which nevertheless continued to burn near four weeks before it was quite extinguished. Among the buildings destroyed, was a factory-house belonging to the Genoese, who then carried on the trade of supplying the Spaniards with slaves from *Africa*.

The rapacity, licentiousness, and cruelty, of the Buccaneers, in their pillage of *Panama*, had no bounds. ‘They spared,’ says the narrative of a Buccaneer named Exquemelin, ‘in these their cruelties no sex nor condition whatsoever. As to religious persons and priests, they granted them less quarter than others, unless they procured a considerable sum of money for their ransom.’ Morgan sent detachments to scour the country for plunder, and to bring in prisoners from whom ransom might be extorted. Many of the inhabitants escaped with their effects by sea, and went for shelter to the Islands in the *Bay of Panama*. Morgan found a large boat lying aground in the Port, which he caused to be lanced, and manned with a numerous crew, and sent her to cruise among the Islands. A galeon, on board which the women of a convent had taken refuge, and in which money, plate, and other valuable effects, had

had been lodged, very narrowly escaped falling into their hands. They made prize of several vessels, one of which was well adapted for cruising. This opened a new prospect; and some of the Buccaneers began to consult how they might quit Morgan, and seek their fortunes on the *South Sea*, whence they proposed to sail, with the plunder they should obtain, by the *East Indies* to *Europe*. But Morgan received notice of their design before it could be put in execution, and to prevent such a diminution of his force, he ordered the masts of the ship to be cut away, and all the boats or vessels lying at *Panama* which could suit their purpose, to be burnt.

CHAP. 6.  
1671.  
Expedition  
against  
Panama.

The old city of *Panama* is said to have contained 7000 houses, many of which were magnificent edifices built with cedar. On the 24th of February, Morgan and his men departed from its ruins, taking with them 175 mules laden with spoil, and 600 prisoners, some of them carrying burthens, and others for whose release ransom was expected. Among the latter were many women and children. These poor creatures were designedly caused to suffer extreme hunger and thirst, and kept under apprehensions of being carried to *Jamaica* to be sold as slaves, that they might the more earnestly endeavour to procure money to be brought for their ransom. When some of the women, upon their knees and in tears, begged of Morgan to let them return to their families, his answer to them was, that 'he came not there to listen to cries and lamentations, but to seek money.' Morgan's thirst for money was not restrained to seeking it among his foes. He had a hand equally ready for that of his friends. Neither did he think his friends people to be trusted; for in the middle of the march back to *Chagre*, he drew up his men and caused them to be sworn, that they had not reserved or concealed any plunder, but had delivered all fairly into the common stock.

Feb. 24th.  
The  
Buccaneers  
depart from  
Panama.

This

CHAP. 6. This ceremony, it seems, was not unc customary. ‘ But Captain  
1671. ‘ Morgan having had experience that those loose fellows  
‘ would not much stickle to swear falsely in such a case, he  
‘ commanded every one to be searched ; and that it might not  
‘ be esteemed an affront, he permitted himself to be first  
‘ searched, even to the very soles of his shoes. The French  
‘ Buccaneers who had engaged on this expedition with Morgan,  
‘ were not well satisfied with this new custom of searching ; but  
‘ their number being less than that of the English, they were  
‘ forced to submit.’ On arriving at *Chagre*, a division was  
made. The narrative says, ‘ every person received his portion,  
‘ or rather what part thereof Captain Morgan was pleased  
‘ to give him. For so it was, that his companions, even those  
‘ of his own nation, complained of his proceedings ; for they  
‘ judged it impossible that, of so many valuable robberies, no  
‘ greater share should belong to them than 200 pieces of eight  
‘ *per head*. But Captain Morgan was deaf to these, and to  
‘ many other complaints of the same kind.’

As Morgan was not disposed to allay the discontents of his  
men by coming to a more open reckoning with them, to avoid  
having the matter pressed upon him, he determined to with-  
draw from his command, ‘ which he did without calling any  
‘ council, or bidding any one adieu ; but went secretly on  
‘ board his own ship, and put out to sea without giving notice,  
‘ being followed only by three or four vessels of the whole fleet,  
‘ who it is believed went shares with him in the greatest part of  
‘ the spoil.’

The rest of the Buccaneer vessels soon separated. Morgan  
went to *Jamaica*, and had begun to levy men to go with him to  
the Island *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*, which he purposed to hold as his own,  
and to make it a common place of refuge for pirates ; when the  
arrival of a new Governor at *Jamaica*, Lord John Vaughan, with  
orders

orders to enforce the late treaty with *Spain*, obliged him to relinquish his plan. CHAP. 6.

The foregoing account of the destruction of *Panama* by Morgan, is taken from a History of the Buccaneers of America, written originally in the Dutch language by a Buccaneer named Exquemelin, and published at Amsterdam in 1678, with the title of *De Americaensche Zee Roovers*. Exquemelin's book contains only partial accounts of the actions of some of the principal among the Buccaneers. He has set forth the valour displayed by them in the most advantageous light; but generally, what he has related is credible. His history has been translated into all the European languages, but with various additions and alterations by the translators, each of whom has inclined to maintain the military reputation of his own nation. The Spanish translation is entitled *Piratas*, and has the following short complimentary Poem prefixed, addressed to the Spanish editor and emendator :—

Exquemelin's  
History  
of the  
Buccaneers  
of America.

De Agamenón cantó la vida Homero  
Y Virgilio de Eneas lo piadoso  
Camoës de Gama el curso presuroso  
Gongora el brio de Colon Velero;

Tu, O Alonso! mas docto y verdadero,  
Describe del America ingenioso  
Lo que assalta el Pirata codicioso :  
Lo que defiende el Español Guerrero.

The French translation is entitled *Les Aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes*, and contains actions of the French Flibustiers which are not in Exquemelin. The like has been done in the English translation, which has for title *The Bucaniers of America*. The English translator, speaking of the sacking of *Panama*, has expressed himself with a strange mixture of boasting and compunctious feeling. This account, he says, contains the unparalleled and bold exploits of Sir Henry Morgan,

CHAP. 6. Morgan, written by one of the Buccaneers who was present at those tragedies.

It has been remarked, that the treaty of *America* furnishes an apology for the enterprises of the Buccaneers previous to its notification ; it being so worded as to admit an inference that the English and Spaniards were antecedently engaged in a continual war in *America*.

1671. The new Governor of *Jamaica* was authorized and instructed to proclaim a general pardon, and indemnity from prosecution, for all piratical offences committed to that time ; and to grant 35 acres of land to every Buccaneer who should claim the benefit of the proclamation, and would promise to apply himself to planting ; a measure from which the most beneficial effects might have been expected, not to the British colonists only, but to all around, in turning a number of able men from destructive occupations to useful and productive pursuits, if it had not been made subservient to sordid views. The author of the *History of Jamaica* says, ‘ This offer was intended as a lure to  
 ‘ engage the Buccaneers to come into port with their effects,  
 ‘ that the Governor might, and which he was directed to do,  
 ‘ take from them the tenths and fifteenths of their booty as the  
 ‘ dues of the Crown [and of the Colonial Government] for  
 ‘ granting them commissions.’ Those who had neglected to obtain commissions would of course have to make their peace by an increased composition. In consequence of this scandalous procedure, the Jamaica Buccaneers, to avoid being so taxed, kept aloof from *Jamaica*, and were provoked to continue their old occupations. Most of them joined the French Flibustiers at *Tortuga*. Some were afterwards apprehended at *Jamaica*, where they were brought to trial, condemned as pirates, and executed.

1672. A war which was entered into by *Great Britain* and *France*  
 against



against *Holland*, furnished for a time employment for the Buccaneers and Flibustiers, and procured the Spaniards a short respite. CHAP. 6.

In 1673, the French made an attempt to take the Island of *Curaçao* from the Dutch, and failed. M. d'Ogeron, the Governor of *Tortuga*, intended to have joined in this expedition, for which purpose he sailed in a ship named *l'Ecueil*, manned with 300 Flibustiers; but in the night of the 25th of February, she ran aground among some small islands and rocks, near the North side of the Island *Porto Rico*. The people got safe to land, but were made close prisoners by the Spaniards. After some months imprisonment, M. d'Ogeron, with three others, made their escape in a canoe, and got back to *Tortuga*. The Governor General over the French West-India Islands at that time, was a M. de Baas, who sent to *Porto Rico* to demand the deliverance of the French detained there prisoners. The Spanish Governor of *Porto Rico* required 3000 pieces of eight to be paid for expences incurred. De Baas was unwilling to comply with the demand, and sent an agent to negotiate for an abatement in the sum; but they came to no agreement. M. d'Ogeron in the mean time collected five hundred men in *Tortuga* and *Hispaniola*, with whom he embarked in a number of small vessels to pass over to *Porto Rico*, to endeavour the release of his shipwrecked companions; but by repeated tempests, several of his flotilla were forced back, and he reached *Porto Rico* with only three hundred men.

On their landing, the Spanish Governor put to death all his French prisoners, except seventeen of the officers. Afterwards in an engagement with the Spaniards, D'Ogeron lost seventeen men, and found his strength not sufficient to force the Spaniards to terms; upon which he withdrew from *Porto Rico*, and returned to *Tortuga*. The seventeen French officers that were spared in

1673.  
Flibustiers  
shipwreck-  
ed at  
*Porto Rico*;

And put to  
death  
by the  
Spaniards.

CHAP. 6.  
1673. the massacre of the prisoners, the Governor of *Porto Rico* put on board a vessel bound for the *Tierra Firma*, with the intention of transporting them to *Peru*; but from that fate they were delivered by meeting at sea with an English Buccaneer cruiser. Thus, by the French Governor General disputing about a trifling balance, three hundred of the French Buccaneers, whilst employed for the French king's service under one of his officers, were sacrificed.

## C H A P. VII.

Thomas Peche. *Attempt of La Sound to cross the Isthmus of America. Voyage of Antonio de Vea to the Strait of Magalhanes. Various Adventures of the Buccaneers, in the West Indies, to the year 1679.*

IN 1673, Thomas Peche, an Englishman, fitted out a ship in *England* for a piratical voyage to the *South Sea* against the Spaniards. Previous to this, Peche had been many years a Buccaneer in the *West Indies*, and therefore his voyage to the *South Sea* is mentioned as a Buccaneer expedition; but it was in no manner connected with any enterprise in or from the *West Indies*. The only information we have of Peche's voyage is from a Spanish author, *Seixas y Lovera*; and by that it may be conjectured that Peche sailed to the *Aleutian Isles*.\*

CHAP. 7.

1673.

Thomas  
Peche.

About this time the French West-India Company was suppressed; but another Company was at the same time erected in its stead, and under the unpromising title of *Compagnie des Fermiers du domaine d'Occident*.

1673.

Since the plundering of *Panama*, the imaginations of the Buccaneers had been continually running on expeditions to the *South Sea*. This was well known to the Spaniards, and produced many forebodings and prophecies, in *Spain* as well as in *Peru*, of great invasions both by sea and land. The alarm was increased by an attempt of a French Buccaneer, named *La Sound*, with a small body of men, to cross over land to the *South Sea*.

La Sound  
attempts to  
cross the  
Isthmus.

\* *Theatro Naval Hydrographico*. Cap. xi. See also of Peche, in Vol. III. of *South Sea Voyages and Discoveries*, p. 392.

CHAP. 7. La Sound got no farther than the town of *Cheapo*, and was  
 1675. driven back. Dampier relates, ' Before my going to the *South*  
 ' *Seas*, I being then on board a privateer off *Portobel*, we took  
 ' a packet from *Carthagena*. We opened a great many of the  
 ' merchants' letters, several of which informed their corres-  
 ' pondents of a certain prophecy that went about *Spain* that  
 ' year, the tenor of which was, *That the English privateers in*  
 ' *the West Indies would that year open a door into the South Seas.*'

In 1675, it was reported and believed in *Peru*, that strange  
 ships, supposed to be Pirates, had been seen on the coast of  
*Chili*, and it was apprehended that they designed to form an  
 establishment there. In consequence of this information or  
 rumour, the Viceroy sent a ship from *Peru*, under the command  
 of Don Antonio de Vea, accompanied with small barks as  
 tenders, to reconnoitre the *Gulf de la Santissima Trinidad*,  
 and to proceed thence to the West entrance of the *Strait*  
*of Magalhanes*. De Vea made examination at those places, and  
 was convinced, from the poverty of the land, that no settle-  
 ment of Europeans could be maintained there. One of the  
 Spanish barks, with a crew of sixteen men, was wrecked on the  
 small Islands called *Evangelists*, at the West entrance of the  
*Strait*. De Vea returned to *Callao* in April 1676\*.

Voyage of  
 Ant. de Vea  
 to the  
 Strait of  
 Magalhanes.

1676. The cattle in *Hispaniola* had again multiplied so much as to  
 revive the business of hunting and the *boucan*. In 1676, some  
 French who had habitations in the *Peninsula of Samana* (the  
 NE part of *Hispaniola*) made incursions on the Spaniards, and  
 plundered one of their villages. Not long afterwards, the  
 Spaniards learnt that in *Samana* there were only women and  
 children, the men being all absent on the chase; and that it  
 would be easy to surprise not only the habitations, but the  
 hunters also, who had a boucan at a place called the *Round*  
*Mountain*.

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\* *Not, de las Exp. Magal.* p. 268, of *Utt. Viage al Estrecho*.

*Mountain.* This the Spaniards executed, and with such full indulgence to their wish to extirpate the French in *Hispaniola*, that they put to the sword every one they found at both the places. The French, in consequence of this misfortune, strengthened their fortifications at *Cape François*, and made it their principal establishment in the Island.

CHAP. 7.

1676.

Massacre  
of the  
French in  
Samana.

In 1678, the French again undertook an expedition against the Dutch Island *Curaçao*, with a large fleet of the French king's ships, under the command of Admiral the Count d'Etrées. The French Court were so earnest for the conquest of *Curaçao*, to wipe off the disgrace of the former failure, that the Governor of *Tortuga* was ordered to raise 1200 men to join the Admiral d'Etrées. The king's troops within his government did not exceed 300 men; nevertheless, the Governor collected the number required, the Flibustiers willingly engaging in the expedition. Part of them embarked on board the king's ships, and part in their own cruising vessels. By mistake in the navigation, d'Etrées ran ashore in the middle of the night on some small Isles to the East of *Curaçao*, called *de Aves*, which are surrounded with breakers, and eighteen of his ships, besides some of the Flibustier vessels, were wrecked. The crews were saved, excepting about 300 men.

1678.

French  
Fleet  
wrecked on  
the Isles  
de Aves.

The *Curaçao* expedition being thus terminated, the Flibustiers who had engaged in it, after saving as much as they could of the wrecks, went on expeditions of their own planning, to seek compensation for their disappointment and loss. Some landed on *Cuba*, and pillaged *Puerto del Principe*. One party, under Granmont, a leader noted for the success of his enterprises, went to the Gulf of *Venezuela*, and the ill-fated towns *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar* were again plundered; but what the Buccaneers obtained was not of much value. In August this year, *France* concluded a treaty of peace with *Spain* and *Holland*.

Granmont.

The

## CHAP. 7.

1678.

The Government in *Jamaica* had by this time relapsed to its former propensities, and again encouraged the Buccaneers, and shared in their gains. One crew of Buccaneers carried there a vessel taken from the Spaniards, the cargo of which produced for each man's share to the value of 400*l*. After disposing of the cargo, they burnt the vessel; and 'having paid the Governor his duties, they embarked for *England*, where,' added the author, 'some of them live in good reputation to this day \*.'

As long as the war had lasted between *France* and *Spain*, the French Buccaneers had the advantage of being lawful privateers. An English Buccaneer relates, 'We met a French private ship of war, mounting eight guns, who kept in our company some days. Her commission was only for three months. We shewed him our commission, which was for three years to come. This we had purchased at a cheap rate, having given for it only ten pieces of eight; but the truth of the thing was, that our commission was made out at first only for three months, the same date as the Frenchman's, whereas among ourselves we contrived to make it that it should serve for three years, for with this we were resolved to seek our fortunes.' Whenever *Spain* was at war with another European Power, adventurers of any country found no difficulty in the *West Indies* in procuring commissions to war against the Spaniards; with which commission, and carrying aloft the flag of the nation hostile to *Spain*, they assumed that they were lawful enemies. Such pretensions did them small service if they fell into the hands of the Spaniards; but they were allowed in the ports of neutral nations, which benefited by being made the mart of the Buccaneer prize goods; and the Buccaneers thought themselves well recompensed in having a ready market, and the security of the port.

The

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\* *Buccaneers of America*, Part III. Ch. xi.

The enterprises of the Buccaneers on the *Tierra Firma* and other parts of the American Continent, brought them into frequent intercourse with the natives of those parts, and produced friendships, and sometimes alliances against the Spaniards, with whom each were alike at constant enmity. But there sometimes happened disagreements between them and the natives. The Buccaneers, if they wanted provisions or assistance from the Indians, had no objection to pay for it when they had the means; nor had the natives objection to supply them on that condition, and occasionally out of pure good will. The Buccaneers nevertheless, did not always refrain from helping themselves, with no other leave than their own. Sometime before Morgan's expedition to *Panama*, they had given the Indians of *Darien* much offence; but shortly after that expedition, they were reconciled, in consequence of which, the *Darien* Indians had assisted La Sound. In 1678, they gave assistance to another party of Flibustiers which went against *Cheapo*, under a French Captain named Bournano, and offered to conduct them to a place called *Tocamoro*, where they said the Spaniards had much gold. Bournano did not think his force sufficient to take advantage of their offer, but promised he would come again and be better provided.

CHAP. 7.

1678.

Darien  
Indians.

In 1679, three Buccaneer vessels (two of them English, and one French) joined in an attempt to plunder *Porto Bello*. They landed 200 men at such a distance from the town, that it occupied them three nights in travelling, for during the day they lay concealed in the woods, before they reached it. Just as they came to the town, they were discovered by a negro, who ran before to give intelligence of their coming; but the Buccaneers were so quickly after him, that they got possession of the town before the inhabitants could take any step for their defence, and,

1679.

Porto Bello  
surprised  
by the  
Buccaneers.



CHAP. 7. and, being unacquainted with the strength of the enemy, they  
1679. all fled. The Buccaneers remained in the town collecting plunder two days and two nights, all the time in apprehension that the Spaniards would 'pour in the country' upon their small force, or intercept their retreat. They got back however to their ships unmolested, and, on a division of the booty, shared 160 pieces of eight to each man.





**DARIEN  
LAMA.**

*the Quacancer  
Wells, and the  
Wells.*

## CHAP. VIII.

*Meeting of Buccaneers at the Samballas, and Golden Island.*

*Party formed by the English Buccaneers to cross the Isthmus.*

*Some account of the Native Inhabitants of the Mosquito Shore.*

**I**MMEDIATELY after the plundering of *Porto Bello*, a CHAP. 8.  
 number of Buccaneer vessels, both English and French, on  
 the report which had been made by Captain Bournano,  
 assembled at the *Samballas*, or *Isles of San Blas*, near the coast  
 of *Darien*. One of these vessels was commanded by Bournano.  
 The Indians of *Darien* received them as friends and allies,  
 but they now disapproved the project of going to *Tocamoro*.  
 The way thither, they said, was mountainous, and through a  
 long tract of uninhabited country, in which it would be difficult  
 to find subsistence; and instead of *Tocamoro*, they advised going  
 against the city of *Panama*. Their representation caused the  
 design upon *Tocamoro* to be given up. The English Buccaneers  
 were for attacking *Panama*; but the French objected to the  
 length of the march; and on this difference, the English and  
 French separated, the English Buccaneers going to an Island  
 called by them *Golden Island*, which is the most eastern of the  
*Samballas*, if not more properly to be said to the eastward of  
 all the *Samballas*. 1680.  
  
Golden  
Island.

Without the assistance of the French, *Panama* was too great  
 an undertaking. They were bent, however, on crossing the  
*Isthmus*; and at the recommendation of their *Darien* friends,  
 they determined to visit a Spanish town named *Santa Maria*,  
 situated on the banks of a river that ran into the *South Sea*.  
 The Spaniards kept a good garrison at *Santa Maria*, on  
 account of gold which was collected from mountains in its  
 neighbourhood.

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The

CHAP. 8.  
1680.

The Buccaneers who engaged in this expedition were the crews of seven vessels, of force as in the following list :

	Guns	Men			
A vessel of	8	and 97	commanded by	John Coxon.	
—	25	- 107	- - - -	Peter Harris,	
—	1	- 35	- - - -	Richard Sawkins.	
—	2	- 40	- - - -	Bart. Sharp.	
—	0	- 43	- - - -	Edmond Cook.	
—	0	- 24	- - - -	Robert Alleston.	
—	0	- 20	- - - -	— Macket.	

It was settled that Alleston and Macket, with 35 men, themselves included, should be left to guard the vessels during the absence of those who went on the expedition, which was not expected to be of long continuance. These matters were arranged at *Golden Island*, and agreement made with the Darien Indians to furnish them with subsistence during the march.

William Dampier, a seaman at that time of no celebrity, but of good observation and experience, was among these Buccaneers, and of the party to cross the *Isthmus*; as was Lionel Wafer, since well known for his *Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, who had engaged with them as surgeon.

Account  
of the  
Mosquito  
Indians.

In this party of Buccaneers were also some native Americans, of a small tribe called Mosquito Indians, who inhabited the sea coast on each side of *Cape Gracias a Dios*, one way towards the river *San Juan de Nicaragua*, the other towards the *Gulf of Honduras*, which is called the *Mosquito Shore*. If Europeans had any plea in justification of their hostility against the Spaniards in the *West Indies*, much more had the native Americans. The Mosquito Indians, moreover, had long been, and were at the time of these occurrences, in an extraordinary degree attached to the English, insomuch that voluntarily of their own choice they acknowledged the *King of Great Britain* for their sovereign. They were an extremely ingenious people, and were greatly esteemed by the European seamen in the *West Indies*, on account of their great expertness

expertness in the use of the harpoon, and in taking turtle. The following character of them is given by Dampier: 'These  
 ' Mosquito Indians,' he says, 'are tall, well made, strong, and  
 ' nimble of foot; long visaged, lank black hair, look stern, and  
 ' are of a dark copper complexion. They are but a small  
 ' nation or family. They are very ingenious in throwing the  
 ' lance, or harpoon. They have extraordinary good eyes, and  
 ' will descry a sail at sea, farther than we. For these things,  
 ' they are esteemed and coveted by all privateers; for one or  
 ' two of them in a ship, will sometimes maintain a hundred men.  
 ' When they come among privateers, they learn the use of guns,  
 ' and prove very good marksmen. They behave themselves  
 ' bold in fight, and are never seen to flinch, or hang back; for  
 ' they think that the white men with whom they are, always  
 ' know better than they do, when it is best to fight; and be  
 ' the disadvantage never so great, they do not give back while  
 ' any of their party stand. These Mosquito men are in general  
 ' very kind to the English, of whom they receive a great deal  
 ' of respect, both on board their ships, and on shore, either in  
 ' *Jamaica*, or elsewhere. We always humour them, letting them  
 ' go any where as they will, and return to their country in any  
 ' vessel bound that way, if they please. They will have the  
 ' management of themselves in their striking fish, and will go in  
 ' their own little canoe, nor will they then let any white man  
 ' come in their canoe; all which we allow them. For should we  
 ' cross them, though they should see shoals of fish, or turtle, or  
 ' the like, they will purposely strike their harpoons and turtle-  
 ' irons aside, or so glance them as to kill nothing. They ac-  
 ' knowledge the King of England for their sovereign, learn  
 ' our language, and take the Governor of *Jamaica* to be one of  
 ' the greatest princes in the world. While they are among the  
 ' English, they wear good cloaths, and take delight to go neat  
 ' and tight; but when they return to their own country, they  
 ' put

CHAP. 8.  
Of the  
Mosquito  
Indians.

‘ put by all their cloaths, and go after their own country  
‘ fashion.’

In Dampier's time, it was the custom among the Mosquito Indians, when their Chief died, for his successor to obtain a commission, appointing him Chief, from the Governor of *Jamaica*; and till he received his commission he was not acknowledged in form by his countrymen\*.

How would Dampier have been grieved, if he could have foreseen that this simple and honest people, whilst their attachment to the English had suffered no diminution, would be delivered by the British Government into the hands of the Spaniards; which, from all experience of what had happened, was delivering them to certain destruction.

Before this unhappy transaction took place, and after the time Dampier wrote, the British Government took actual possession of the Mosquito Country, by erecting a fort, and stationing there a garrison of British troops. British merchants settled among the Mosquito natives, and magistrates were appointed with authority to administer justice. Mosquito men were taken into British pay to serve as soldiers, of which the following story is related in Long's *History of Jamaica*. ‘ In  
‘ the year 1738, the Government of *Jamaica* took into their pay  
‘ two hundred Mosquito Indians, to assist in the suppression of  
‘ the Maroons or Wild Negroes. During a march on this ser-  
‘ vice,

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\* ‘ They never forfeit their word. The King has his commission from the  
‘ Governor of *Jamaica*, and at every new Governor's arrival, they come over to  
‘ know his pleasure. The King of the Mosquitos was received by his Grace the  
‘ Duke of Portland (Governor of *Jamaica*, A.D. 1722-3) with that courtesy which  
‘ was natural to him, and with more ceremony than seemed to be due to a  
‘ Monarch who held his sovereignty by commission.’—‘ The Mosquito Indians  
‘ had a victory over the Spanish Indians about 30 years ago, and cut off a number;  
‘ but gave a Negro who was with them, his life purely on account of his speaking  
‘ English.’ *History of Jamaica*. London 1774. Book i. Ch. 12. And *British  
Empire in America*, Vol. II. pp. 367 & 371.

‘ vice, one of their white conductors shot a wild hog. The  
 ‘ Mosquito men told him, that was not the way to surprise the  
 ‘ negroes, but to put them on their guard ; and if he wanted  
 ‘ provisions, they would kill the game equally well with their  
 ‘ arrows. They effected considerable service on this occasion,  
 ‘ and were well rewarded for their good conduct ; and when  
 ‘ a pacification took place with the Maroons, they were sent  
 ‘ well satisfied to their own country.’

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Of the  
Mosquito  
Indians.

In the year 1770, there resided in the *Mosquito Country* of British settlers, between two and three hundred whites, as many of mixed blood, and 900 slaves. On the breaking out of the war between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, in 1779, when the Spaniards drove the British logwood cutters from their settlements in the *Bay of Honduras*, the Mosquito men armed and assisted the British troops of the line in the recovery of the logwood settlements. They behaved on that occasion, and on others in which they served against the Spaniards, with their accustomed fidelity. An English officer, who was in the *West Indies* during that war, has given a description of the Mosquito men, which exactly agrees with what Dampier has said ; and all that is related of them whilst with the Buccaneers, gives the most favourable impression of their dispositions and character. It was natural to the Spaniards to be eagerly desirous to get the Mosquito Country and people into their power ; but it was not natural that such a proposition should be listened to by the British. Nevertheless, the matter did so happen.

When notice was received in the *West Indies*, that a negotiation was on foot for the delivery of the *Mosquito Shore* to *Spain*, the Council at *Jamaica* drew up a Report and Remonstrance against it ; in which was stated, that ‘ the number of  
 ‘ the Mosquito Indians, so justly remarkable for their fixed  
 ‘ hereditary hatred to the Spaniards, and attachment to us, were  
 ‘ from seven to ten thousand.’ Afterwards, in continuation, the

Memorial



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Of the  
Mosquito  
Indians.

Memorial says, 'We beg leave to state the nature of His Majesty's territorial right, perceiving with alarm, from papers submitted to our inspection, that endeavours have been made to create doubts as to His Majesty's just claims to the sovereignty of this valuable and delightful country. The native Indians of this country have never submitted to the Spanish Government. The Spaniards never had any settlement amongst them. During the course of 150 years they have maintained a strict and uninterrupted alliance with the subjects of *Great Britain*. They made a free and formal cession of the dominion of their country to His Majesty's predecessors, acknowledging the King of *Great Britain* for their sovereign, long before the American Treaty concluded at *Madrid* in 1670; and consequently, by the eighth Article of that Treaty, our right was declared\*.' In one Memorial and Remonstrance which was presented to the British Ministry on the final ratification (in 1786) of the Treaty, it is complained, that thereby his Majesty had given up to the King of *Spain* the Indian people, and country of the *Mosquito Shore*, which formed the most secure West-Indian Province possessed by *Great Britain*, and which we held by the most pure and perfect title of sovereignty.' Much of this is digression; but the subject unavoidably came into notice, and could not be hastily quitted.

Some mercantile arrangement, said to be advantageous to *Great Britain*, but which has been disputed, was the publicly assigned motive to this act. It has been conjectured that a desire to shew civility to the Prime Minister of *Spain* was the real motive. Only blindness or want of information could give either of these considerations such fatal influence.

The making over, or transferring, inhabited territory from the

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\* *Case of His Majesty's Subjects upon the Mosquito Shore, most humbly submitted, &c.* London, 1789.

the dominion and jurisdiction of one state to that of another, has been practised not always with regard for propriety. It has been done sometimes unavoidably, sometimes justly, and sometimes inexcusably. Unavoidably, when a weaker state is necessitated to submit to the exactions of a stronger. Justly, when the inhabitants of the territory it is proposed to transfer, are consulted, and give their consent. Also it may be reckoned just to exercise the power of transferring a conquered territory, the inhabitants of which have not been received and adopted as fellow subjects with the subjects of the state under whose power it had fallen.

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Mosquito  
Indians.

The inhabitants of a territory who with their lands are transferred to the dominion of a new state without their inclinations being consulted, are placed in the condition of a conquered people.

The connexion of the Mosquito people with *Great Britain* was formed in friendship, and was on each side a voluntary engagement. That it was an engagement, should be no question. In equity and honour, whoever permits it to be believed that he has entered into an engagement, thereby becomes engaged. The Mosquito people were known to believe, and had been allowed to continue in the belief, that they were permanently united to the British. The Governors of *Jamaica* giving commissions for the instalment of their chief, the building a fort, and placing a garrison in the country, shew both acceptance of their submission and exercise of sovereignty.

Vattel has decribed this case. He says, ‘ When a nation has  
‘ not sufficient strength of itself, and is not in a condition to  
‘ resist its enemies, it may lawfully submit to a more powerful  
‘ nation on certain conditions upon which they shall come to  
‘ an agreement ; and the pact or treaty of submission will be  
‘ afterwards the measure and rule of the rights of each. For  
‘ that

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‘ that which submits, resigning a right it possessed, and conveying it to another, has an absolute power to make this conveyance upon what conditions it pleases; and the other, by accepting the submission on this footing, engages to observe religiously all the clauses in the treaty.

‘ When a nation has placed itself under the protection of another that is more powerful, or has submitted to it with a view of protection; if this last does not effectually grant its protection when wanted, it is manifest that by failing in its engagements it loses the rights it had acquired.’

The rights lost or relinquished by *Great Britain* might possibly be of small import to her; but the loss of our protection was of infinite consequence to the Mosquito people. Advantages supposed or real gained to *Great Britain*, is not to be pleaded in excuse or palliation for withdrawing her protection; for that would seem to imply that an engagement is more or less binding according to the greater or less interest there may be in observing it. But if there had been no engagement, the length and steadiness of their attachment to *Great Britain* would have entitled them to her protection, and the nature of the case rendered the obligation sacred; for be it repeated, that experience had shewn the delivering them up to the dominion of the Spaniards, was delivering them to certain slavery and death. These considerations possibly might not occur, for there seems to have been a want of information on the subject in the British Ministry, and also a want of attention to the remonstrances made. The Mosquito Country, and the native inhabitants, the best affected and most constant of all the friends the British ever had, were abandoned in the summer of 1787, to the Spaniards, the known exterminators of millions of the native Americans, and who were moreover incensed against the Mosquito men, for the part they had  
always

always taken with the British, by whom they were thus forsaken. The British settlers in that country found it necessary to withdraw as speedily as they had opportunity, with their effects.

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Of the  
Mosquito  
Indians.

If the business had been fully understood, and the safety of *Great Britain* had depended upon abandoning the Mosquito people to their merciless enemies, it would have been thought disgraceful by the nation to have done it; but the national interest being trivial, and the public in general being uninformed in the matter, the transaction took place without attracting much notice. A motion, however, was made in the British House of Lords, 'that the terms of the Convention with *Spain*, signed in July 1786, did not meet the favourable opinion of this House;' and the noble Mover objected to that part of the Convention which related to the surrender of the British possessions on the *Mosquito Shore*, that it was a humiliation, and derogating from the rights of *Great Britain*. The first Article of the Treaty of 1786 says, 'His Britannic Majesty's subjects, and the other Colonists, who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of *England*, shall evacuate the Country of the Mosquitos, as well as the Continent in general, and the Islands adjacent, without exception, situated beyond the line hereafter described, as what ought to be the extent of territory granted by his Catholic Majesty to the English.'

In the debate, rights were asserted for *Spain*, not only to what she then possessed on the Continent of *America*, but to parts she had never possessed. Was this want of information, or want of consideration? The word 'granted' was improperly introduced. In truth and justice, the claims of *Spain* to *America* are not to be acknowledged rights. They were founded in usurpation, and prosecuted by the extermination of the lawful and natural proprietors. It is an offence to morality and to

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humanity

CHAP. 8.  
Of the  
Mosquito  
Indians.

humanity to pretend that *Spain* had so clear and just a title to any part of her possessions on the Continent of *America*, as *Great Britain* had to the *Mosquito* Country. The rights of the *Mosquito* people, and their claims to the friendship of *Great Britain*, were not sufficiently made known; and the motion was negatived. It might have been of service in this debate to have quoted *Dampier*.

In conclusion, the case of the *Mosquito* people deserves, and demands the reconsideration of *Great Britain*. If, on examination, it shall be proved that they have been ungenerously and unjustly treated, it may not be too late to seek to make reparation, which ought to be done as far as circumstances will yet admit. The first step towards this would be, to institute enquiry if there are living any of our forsaken friends, or of their posterity, and what is their present condition. If the *Mosquito* people have been humanely and justly governed since their separation from *Great Britain*, the enquiry will give the *Spaniards* cause for triumph, and the *British* cause to rejoice that evil has not resulted from their act. On the other hand, should it be found that they have shared in the common calamities heaped upon the natives of *America* by the *Spaniards*, then, if there yet exist enough of their tribe to form a nation, it would be right to restore them, if practicable, to the country and situation of which their fathers were deprived, or to find them an equivalent; and at any price or pains, to deliver them from oppression. If only few remain, those few should be freed from their bondage, and be liberally provided with lands and maintenance in our own *West-India Islands*.

## C H A P. IX.

*Journey of the Buccaneers across the Isthmus of America.*

ON the 5th of April, 1680, three hundred and thirty-one Buccaneers, most of them English, passed over from *Golden Island*, and landed in *Darien*, 'each man provided with four cakes of bread called dough-boys, with a fusil, a pistol, and a hanger.' They began their journey marshalled in divisions, with distinguishing flags, under their several commanders, Bartholomew Sharp and his men taking the lead. Many *Darien* Indians kept them company as their confederates, and supplied them with plantains, fruit, and venison, for which payment was made in axes, hatchets, knives, needles, beads, and trinkets; all which the Buccaneers had taken care to come well provided with. Among the *Darien* Indians in company were two Chiefs, who went by the names of Captain Andreas and Captain Antonio.

CHAP. 9.  
1680.  
April 5th,  
Buccaneers  
land on the  
Isthmus.

The commencement of their march was through the skirt of a wood, which having passed, they proceeded about a league by the side of a bay, and afterwards about two leagues directly up a woody valley, where was an Indian house and plantation by the side of a river. Here they took up their lodging for the night, those who could not be received in the house, building huts. The Indians were earnest in cautioning them against sleeping in the grass, on account of adders. This first day's journey discouraged four of the Buccaneers, and they returned to the ships. Stones were found in the river, which on being broken, shone with sparks of gold. These stones, they were told, were driven

The First  
Day's  
March.

CHAP. 9. down from the neighbouring mountains by torrents during the rainy season\*.

1680.

April.

Second

Day's

Journey.

The next morning, at sunrise, they proceeded in their journey, labouring up a steep hill, which they surmounted about three in the afternoon; and at the foot on the other side, they rested on the bank of a river, which Captain Andreas told them ran into the *South Sea*, and was the same by which the town of *Santa Maria* was situated. They marched afterwards about six miles farther, over another steep hill, where the path was so narrow that seldom more than one man could pass at a time. At night, they took up their lodging by the side of the river, having marched this day, according to their computation, eighteen miles.

7th.  
Third Day's  
Journey.

The next day, April the 7th, the march was continued by the river, the course of which was so serpentine, that they had to cross it almost at every half mile, sometimes up to their knees, sometimes to their middle, and running with a very swift current. About noon they arrived at some large Indian houses, neatly built, the sides of wood of the cabbage-tree, and the roofs of cane thatched over with palmito leaves. The interior had divisions into rooms, but no upper story; and before each house was a large plantain walk. Continuing their journey, at five in the afternoon, they came to a house belonging to a son of Captain Andreas, who wore a wreath of gold about his head, for which he was honoured by the Buccaneers with the title of King Golden Cap. They found their entertainment at King Golden Cap's house so good, that they rested there the whole of the following day. Bartholomew

8th.

Sharp, who published a Journal of his expedition, says here, 'The inhabitants of *Darien* are for the most part very handsome, especially the female sex, who are also exceeding  
' loving

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\* Narrative by Basil Ringrose, p. 5.

'loving and free to the embraces of strangers.' This was calumny. Basil Ringrose, another Buccaneer, whose Journal has been published, and who is more entitled to credit than Sharp, as will be seen, says of the Darien women, 'they are generally well featured, very free, airy, and brisk; yet withal very modest.' Lionel Wafer also, who lived many months among the Indians of the *Isthmus*, speaks highly of the modesty, kindness of disposition, and innocency, of the Darien women.

CHAP. 9.

1680.

April.

Journey  
over the  
Isthmus.

On the 9th, after breakfast, they pursued their journey, accompanied by the Darien Chiefs, and about 200 Indians, who were armed with bows and lances. They descended along the river, which they had to wade through between fifty and sixty times, and they came to a house 'only here and there.' At most of these houses, the owner, who had been apprised of the march of the Buccaneers, stood at the door, and as they passed, gave to each man a ripe plantain, or some sweet cassava root. If the Buccaneer desired more, he was expected to purchase. Some of the Indians, to count the number of the Buccaneers, for every man that went by dropped a grain of corn. That night they lodged at three large houses, where they found entertainment provided, and also canoes for them to descend the river, which began here to be navigable.

9th.  
Fourth  
Day's  
Journey.

The next morning, as they were preparing to depart, two of the Buccaneer Commanders, John Coxon and Peter Harris, had some disagreement, and Coxon fired his musket at Harris, who was about to fire in return, but other Buccaneers interposed, and effected a reconciliation. Seventy of the Buccaneers embarked in fourteen canoes, in each of which two Indians also went, who best knew how to manage and guide them down the stream: the rest prosecuted their march by land.

10th.  
Fifth Day's  
Journey.



**CHAP. 9.** land. The men in the canoes found that mode of travelling  
 1680. quite as wearisome as marching, for at almost every furlong  
 April. they were constrained to quit their boats to lanch them over  
 rocks, or over trees that had fallen athwart the river, and  
 sometimes over necks of land. At night, they stopped and  
 made themselves huts on a green bank by the river's side.  
 Here they shot wild-fowl.

11th. The next day, the canoes continued to descend the river,  
 Sixth Day's having the same kind of impediments to overcome as on the  
 Journey. preceding day ; and at night, they lodged again on the green  
 bank of the river. The land party had not kept up with them.  
 Bartholomew Sharp says, ' Our supper entertainment was a  
 ' very good sort of a wild beast called a *Warre*, which is much  
 ' like to our English hog, and altogether as good. There are  
 ' store of them in this part of the world : I observed that  
 ' the navels of these animals grew upon their backs.' Wafer  
 calls this species of the wild hog, *Pecary* \*. In the night a small  
 tiger came, and after looking at them some time, went away.  
 The Buccaneers did not fire at him, lest the noise of their  
 muskets should give alarm to the Spaniards at *S<sup>a</sup> Maria*.

12th. The next day, the water party again embarked, but under  
 Seventh some anxiety at being so long without having any communi-  
 Day's cation with the party marching by land. Captain Andreas  
 Journey. perceiving their uneasiness, sent a canoe back up the river,  
 which returned before sunset with some of the land party,  
 and intelligence that the rest were near at hand.

13th. Tuesday the 13th, early in the day, the Buccaneers arrived  
 at a beachy point of land, where another stream from the  
 uplands joined the river. This place had sometimes been the  
 rendezvous of the Darien Indians, when they collected for  
 attack

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\* *De Rochfort* describes this animal under the name *Javaris*. *Hist. Nat. des Isles Antilles*, p. 138, edit. 1665. It is also described by *Pennant*, in his *Synopsis of Quadrupeds*, Art. *Mexican Wild Hog*.

attack or defence against the Spaniards; and here the whole party now made a halt, to rest themselves, and to clean and prepare their arms. They also made paddles and oars to row with; for thus far down the river, the canoes had been carried by the stream, and guided with poles: but here the river was broad and deep.

On the 14th, the whole party, Buccaneers and Indians, making nearly 600 men, embarked in 68 canoes, which the Indians had provided. At midnight, they put to land, within half a mile of the town of *S<sup>a</sup> Maria*. In the morning at the break of day, they heard muskets fired by the guard in the town, and a 'drum beating *à travailler* \*.' The Buccaneers put themselves in motion, and by seven in the morning came to the open ground before the Fort, when the Spaniards began firing upon them. The Fort was formed simply with palisadoes, without brickwork, so that after pulling down two or three of the palisadoes, the Buccaneers entered without farther opposition, and without the loss of a man; nevertheless, they acted with so little moderation or mercy, that twenty-six Spaniards were killed, and sixteen wounded. After the surrender, the Indians took many of the Spaniards into the adjoining woods, where they killed them with lances; and if they had not been discovered in their amusement, and prevented, not a Spaniard would have been left alive. It is said in a Buccaneer account, that they found here the eldest daughter of the King of *Darien*, Captain Andreas, who had been forced from her father's house by one of the garrison, and was with child by him; which greatly incensed the father against the Spaniards.

The

CHAP. 9.

1680.

April.

On the  
Isthmus.

14th.

15th.

Fort of  
*S<sup>a</sup> Maria*  
taken.

\* *Ringrose. Buccaneers of America*, Part IV. p. 10. The early morning drum has, in our time, been called the *Reveiller*. Either that or a *travailler* seems applicable; for according to *Boyer*, *travailler* signifies to trouble, or disturb, as well as to work; and it is probable, from the age of the authority above cited, that the original term was *à travailler*.

## CHAP. 9.

1680.

April.

The Buccaneers were much disappointed in their expectations of plunder, for the Spaniards had by some means received notice of their intended visit in time to send away almost all that was of value. A Buccaneer says, 'though we examined our prisoners severely, the whole that we could pillage, either in the town or fort, amounted only to twenty pounds weight of gold, and a small quantity of silver; whereas three days sooner, we should have found three hundred pounds weight in gold in the Fort.'

John Coxon  
chosen  
Commander.

The majority of the Buccaneers were desirous to proceed in their canoes to the *South Sea*, to seek compensation for their disappointment at *S<sup>a</sup> Maria*. John Coxon and his followers were for returning; on which account, and not from an opinion of his capability, those who were for the *South Sea*, offered Coxon the post of General, provided he and his men would join in their scheme, which offer was accepted.

It was then determined to descend with the stream of the river to the *Gulf de San Miguel*, which is on the East side of the *Bay of Panama*. The greater part of the Darien Indians, however, separated from them at *S<sup>a</sup> Maria*, and returned to their homes. The Darien Chief Andreas, and his son Golden Cap, with some followers, continued with the Buccaneers.

Among the people of *Darien* were remarked some white, 'fairer than any people in Europe, who had hair like unto the finest flax; and it was reported of them that they could see farther in the dark than in the light\*.'

The River of *S<sup>a</sup> Maria* is the largest of several rivers which fall into the *Gulf de San Miguel*. Abreast where the town stood, it was reckoned to be twice as broad as the *River Thames* is at *London*. The rise and fall of the tide there was two fathoms and a half†.

April

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\* Narrative by Basil Ringrose, p. 3.

† Ringrose, p. 11.

April the 17th, the Buccaneers and their remaining allies embarked from *S<sup>a</sup> Maria*, in canoes and a small bark which was found at anchor before the town. About thirty Spaniards who had been made prisoners, earnestly entreated that they should not be left behind to fall into the hands of the Indians. 'We had much ado,' say the Buccaneers, 'to find boats enough for ourselves: the Spaniards, however, found or made bark logs, and it being for their lives, made shift to come along with us.' At ten that night it was low water, and they stopped on account of the flood tide. The next morning they pursued their course to the sea.

CHAP. 9.

1680.

April 17th.

18th,

They arrive  
at the  
South Sea.

## C H A P. X.

*First Buccaneer Expedition in the South Sea.*

CHAP. 10.  
1680.

ON the 19th of April, the Buccaneers, under the command of John Coxon, entered the *Bay of Panama*; and the same day, at one of the Islands in the *Bay*, they captured a Spanish vessel of 30 tons, on board of which 130 of the Buccaneers immediately placed themselves, glad to be relieved from the cramped and crowded state they had endured in the canoes. The next day another small bark was taken. The pursuit of these vessels, and seeking among the Islands for provisions, had separated the Buccaneers; but they had agreed to rendezvous at the Island *Chepillo*, near the entrance of the River *Cheapo*. Sharp, however, and some others, wanting fresh water, went to the *Pearl Islands*. The rest got to *Chepillo* on the 22d, where they found good provision of plantains, fresh water, and hogs; and at four o'clock that same afternoon, they rowed from the Island towards *Panama*.

22d.  
Island  
Chepillo.

By this time, intelligence of their being in the *Bay* had reached the city. Eight vessels were lying in the road, three of which the Spaniards hastily equipped, manning them with the crews of all the vessels, and the addition of men from the shore; the whole, according to the Buccaneer accounts, not exceeding 250 men, and not more than one-third of them being Europeans; the rest were mulattoes and negroes.

23d.  
Battle with  
a small  
Spanish  
Armament.

On the 23d, before sunrise, the Buccaneers came in sight of the city; and as soon as they were descried, the three armed Spanish ships got under sail, and stood towards them. The conflict was severe, and lasted the greater part of the day, when it

it terminated in the defeat of the Spaniards, two of their vessels being carried by boarding, and the third obliged to save herself by flight. The Spanish Commander fell, with many of his people. Of the Buccaneers, 18 were killed, and above 30 wounded. Peter Harris, one of their Captains, was among the wounded, and died two days after.

CHAP. 10.  
1680.  
April.  
The  
Buccaneers  
victorious.

One Buccaneer account says, 'we were in all 68 men that were engaged in the fight of that day.' Another Buccaneer relates, 'we had sent away the Spanish bark to seek fresh water, and had put on board her above one hundred of our best men; so that we had only canoes for this fight, and in them not above 200 fighting men.' The Spanish ships fought with great bravery, but were overmatched, being manned with motley and untaught crews; whereas the Buccaneers had been in constant training to the use of their arms; and their being in canoes was no great disadvantage, as they had a smooth sea to fight in. The valour of Richard Sawkins, who, after being three times repulsed, succeeded in boarding and capturing one of the Spanish ships, was principally instrumental in gaining the victory to the Buccaneers. It gained him also their confidence, and the more fully as some among them were thought to have shewn backwardness, of which number John Coxon, their elected Commander, appears to have been. The Darien Chiefs were in the heat of the battle.

Richard  
Sawkins.

Immediately after the victory, the Buccaneers stood towards *Panama*, then a new city, and on a different site from the old, being four miles Westward of the ruins of the city burnt by Morgan. The old city had yet some inhabitants. The present adventurers did not judge their strength sufficient for landing, and they contented themselves with capturing the vessels that were at anchor near the small Islands of *Perico*, in the road before the city. One of these vessels was a ship named the

The New  
City of  
Panama,  
four miles  
Westward  
of the  
Old City.  
The  
Buccaneers  
take several  
Prizes.

O 2

Trinidad,

CHAP. 10.

1680.

April.

In the Bay  
of Panama.

Trinidad, of 400 tons burthen, in good condition, a fast sailer, and had on board a cargo principally consisting of wine, sugar, and sweetmeats; and moreover a considerable sum of money. The Spanish crew, before they left her, had both scuttled and set her on fire, but the Buccaneers took possession in time to extinguish the flames, and to stop the leaks. In the other prizes they found flour and ammunition; and two of them, besides the Trinidad, they fitted up for cruising. Two prize vessels, and a quantity of goods which were of no use to them, as iron, skins, and soap, which the Spaniards at *Panama* refused to ransom, they destroyed. Besides these, they captured among the Islands some small vessels laden with poultry. Thus in less than a week after their arrival across the *Isthmus* to the coast of the *South Sea*, they were provided with a small fleet, not ill equipped; and with which they now formed an actual and close blockade by sea, of *Panama*, stationing themselves at anchor in front of the city.

Panama,  
the new  
City.

This new city was already considerably larger than old *Panama* had ever been, its extent being in length full a mile and a half, and in breadth above a mile. The churches (eight in number) were not yet finished. The cathedral church at the Old Town was still in use, 'the beautiful building whereof,' says Ringrose, 'maketh a fair show at a distance, like unto the church of St. Paul's at *London*. Round the city for the space of seven leagues, more or less, all the adjacent country is what they call in the Spanish language, *Savana*, that is to say, plain and level ground, as smooth as a sheet; only here and there is to be seen a small spot of woody land. And every where, this level ground is full of *vacadas*, where whole droves of cows and oxen are kept. But the ground whereon the city standeth, is damp and moist, and of bad repute for health. The sea is also very full of worms, much prejudicial

' to

‘ to shipping, for which reason the king’s ships are always kept  
 ‘ near *Lima*. We found here in one night after our arrival,  
 ‘ worms of three quarters of an inch in length, both in our  
 ‘ bed-cloaths and other apparel.’

CHAP. 10.

1680.

April.

In the Bay  
of Panama.

Within two or three days after the battle with the Spanish  
 Armadilla, discord broke out among the Buccaneers. The  
 reflections made upon the behaviour of Coxon and some of his  
 followers, determined him and seventy men to return by the  
 River of *S. Maria* over the *Isthmus* to the *North Sea*. Two of  
 the small prize vessels were given them for this purpose, and  
 at the same time, the Darien Chiefs, Captain Andreas and  
 Captain Antonio, with most of their people, departed to  
 return to their homes. Andreas shewed his goodwill towards the  
 Buccaneers who remained in the *South Sea*, by leaving with  
 them a son and one of his nephews.

Coxon and  
his Men  
return to the  
West Indies.

On the departure of Coxon, Richard Sawkins was chosen  
 General or Chief Commander. They continued ten days in  
 the road before *Panama*, at the end of which they retired  
 to an Island named *Taboga*, more distant, but whence they  
 could see vessels going to, or coming from, *Panama*. At  
*Taboga* they stopped nearly a fortnight, having had notice  
 that a rich ship from *Lima* was shortly expected; but she  
 came not within that time. Some other vessels however fell  
 into their hands, by which they obtained in specie between  
 fifty and sixty thousand dollars, 1200 packs of flour, 2000  
 jars of wine, a quantity of brandy, sugar, sweetmeats, poultry,  
 and other provisions, some gunpowder and shot, besides  
 various other articles of merchandise. Among their prisoners,  
 were a number of negro slaves, which was a temptation to  
 the merchants of *Panama*, to go to the ships whilst they lay  
 at *Taboga*, who purchased part of the prize goods, and as many  
 of the negroes as the Buccaneers would part with, giving  
 for a negro two hundred pieces of eight; and they also sold

Richard  
Sawkins  
chosen  
Commander.

May.

to



**CHAP. 10.** to the Buccaneers such stores and commodities as they were  
 1680. in need of. Ringrose relates, that in the course of this com-  
 May. munication, a message was delivered to their Chief from the  
 In the Bay Governor of *Panama*, demanding, " why, during a time of peace  
 of *Panama*. " between *England* and *Spain*, Englishmen should come into  
 " those seas, to commit injury? and from whom they had  
 " their commission so to do?" To which message, Sawkins  
 returned answer, ' that he and his companions came to assist  
 ' their friend the King of *Darien*, who was the rightful Lord of  
 ' *Panama*, and all the country thereabouts. That as they had  
 ' come so far, it was reasonable they should receive some  
 ' satisfaction for their trouble; and if the Governor would send  
 ' to them 500 pieces of eight for each man, and 1000 for each  
 ' commander, and would promise not any farther to annoy the  
 ' *Darien* Indians, their allies, that then the Buccaneers would  
 ' desist from hostilities, and go quietly about their business.'

By the Spaniards who traded with them, Sawkins learnt that the Bishop of *Panama* was a person whom he had formerly taken prisoner in the *West Indies*, and sent him a small present as a token of regard; the Bishop sent a gold ring in return.

Sawkins would have waited longer for the rich ship expected from *Peru*; but all the live stock within reach had been consumed, and his men became impatient for fresh provisions.

Island  
Taboga. ' This *Taboga*,' says Sharp, ' is an exceeding pleasant island,  
 ' abounding in fruits, such as pine-apples, oranges, lemons,  
 ' pears, mammecs, cocoa-nuts, and others; with a small, but  
 ' brave commodious fresh river running in it. The anchorage  
 ' is also clear and good.'

15th.  
Island  
Otoque. On the 15th of May, they sailed to the Island *Otoque*, at  
 which place they found hogs and poultry; and, the same day,  
 or the day following, they departed with three ships and  
 two small barks, from the Bay of *Panama*, steering Westward  
 for a Spanish town named *Pueblo Nueva*.

In

In this short distance they had much blowing weather and contrary winds, by which both the small barks, one with fifteen men, the other with seven men, were separated from the ships, and did not join them again. The crew of one of these barks returned over the *Isthmus* with Coxon's party. The other bark was taken by the Spaniards.

CHAP. 10.

1680.

May.

About the 21st, the ships anchored near the *Island Quibo*; from the North part of which, to the town of *Pueblo Nuevo* on the main land, was reckoned eight leagues. Sawkins, with sixty men, embarked on board the smallest ship, and sailed to the entrance of a river which leads to the town. He there left the ship with a few men to follow him, and proceeded with the rest in canoes up the river by night, having a negro prisoner for pilot. Those left with the care of the ship, 'entered the river, ' keeping close by the East shore, on which there is a round ' hill. Within two stones cast of the shore there was four ' fathoms depth; and within the point a very fine and large ' river opens. But being strangers to the place, the ship was ' run aground nigh a rock which lieth by the Westward shore; ' for the true channel of this river is nearer to the East than to ' the West shore. The *Island Quibo* is SSE from the mouth of ' this river\*.'

At Quibo.

Attack of  
Pueblo  
Nuevo.

The canoes met with much obstruction from trees which the Spaniards had felled across the river; but they arrived before the town during the night. The Spaniards had erected some works, on which account the Buccaneers waited in their canoes till daylight, and then landed; when Richard Sawkins, advancing with the foremost of his men towards a breastwork, was killed, as were two of his followers. Sharp was the next in command, but he was disheartened by so unfortunate a beginning,

Captain  
Sawkins  
is killed,  
and the  
Buccaneers  
retreat.

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\* *Ringrose*, Chap. ix.

CHAP. 10. beginning, and ordered a retreat. Three Buccaneers were  
1680. wounded in the re-embarkation.

In the narrative which Sharp himself published, he says,  
' we landed at a *stockado* built by the Spaniards, where we had  
' a small rencounter with the enemy, who killed us three men,  
' whereof the brave Captain Sawkins was one, and wounded  
' four or five more ; besides which we got nothing, so that we  
' found it our best way to retreat down the river again.'

The death of Sawkins was a great misfortune to the Buccaneers, and was felt by them as such. One Buccaneer relates,  
' Captain Sawkins landing at *Pueblo Nuevo* before the rest, as  
' being a man of undaunted courage, and running up with a  
' small party to a breastwork, was unfortunately killed. And  
' this disaster occasioned a mutiny amongst our men ; for our  
' Commanders were not thought to be leaders fit for such  
' hard enterprises. Now Captain Sharp was left in chief, and  
' he was censured by many, and the contest grew to that  
' degree that they divided into parties, and about 70 of our  
' men fell off from us.'

Imposition  
practised by  
Sharp.

Ringrose was not in *England* when his Narrative was published ; and advantage was taken of his absence, to interpolate in it some impudent passages in commendation of Sharp's valour. In the printed Narrative attributed to Ringrose, he is made to say, ' Captain Sawkins in running up to the breast-  
' work at the head of a few men was killed ; a man as valiant  
' and courageous as any could be, and, next unto Captain  
' Sharp, the best beloved of all our company, or the most part  
' thereof.'

Ringrose's manuscript Journal has been preserved in the Sloane Collection, at the *British Museum* (No. 3820\* of Ayscough's

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\* No. 48 in the same collection is a manuscript copy of Ringrose's Journal, but varied in the same manner from the Original as the printed Narrative.

Ayscough's Catalogue) wherein, with natural expression of affection and regard, he says, ' Captain Sawkins was a valiant  
' and generous spirited man, and beloved above any other we  
' ever had among us, which he well deserved.'

CHAP. 10.

1680.

In their retreat down the river of *Pueblo Nuevo*, the Buccaneers took a ship laden with indigo, butter, and pitch; and burnt two other vessels. When returned to *Quibo*, they could not agree in the choice of a commander. Bartholomew Sharp had a greater number of voices than any other pretender, which he obtained by boasting that he would take them a cruise whereby he did not at all doubt they would return home with not less than a thousand pounds to each man. Sharp was elected by but a small majority. Between 60 and 70 men who had remained after Coxon quitted the command, from attachment to Captain Sawkins, would not stay to be commanded by Sharp, and departed from *Quibo* in one of the prize vessels to return over the *Isthmus* to the *West Indies*; where they safely arrived. All the Darien Indians also returned to the *Isthmus*. One hundred and forty-six Buccaneers remained with Bartholomew Sharp.

May.

Sharp  
chosen  
Commander.Some  
separate,  
and return  
to the  
West Indies.

' On the SE side of the Island *Quibo* is a shoal, or spit of sand, which stretches out a quarter of a league into the sea\*.' Just within this shoal, in 14 fathoms depth, the Buccaneer ships lay at anchor. The Island abounded in fresh rivers, this being the rainy season. They caught red deer, turtle, and oysters. Ringrose says, ' here were oysters so large that we were forced to cut them into four pieces, each quarter being a good mouthful.' Here were also oysters of a smaller kind, from which the Spaniards collected pearls. They killed alligators at *Quibo*, some above 20 feet in length; ' they were very fearful;  
' and

The  
Anchorage  
at *Quibo*.

\* Ringrose, p. 44.

CHAP. 10. 'and tried to escape from those who hunted them.' Ringrose  
 1680. relates, that he stood under a manchineal tree to shelter himself  
 May. from the rain, but some drops fell on his skin from the tree, which caused him to break out all over in red spots, and he was not well for a week afterwards.

June. June the 6th, Sharp and his followers, in two ships, sailed from *Quibo* Southward for the coast of *Peru*, intending to stop by the way at the *Galapagos Islands*; but the winds prevented them. On the 17th, they anchored on the South side of the  
 Island Gorgona. *Island Gorgona*, near the mouth of a river. 'Gorgona is a high  
 ' mountainous Island, about four leagues in circuit, and is  
 ' distant about four leagues from the Continent. The anchorage  
 ' is within a pistol-shot of the shore, in depth from 15 to 20  
 ' fathoms. At the SW of *Gorgona* is a smaller Island, and  
 ' without the same stands a small rock \*.' There were at this time streams of fresh water on every side of the Island.

*Gorgona* being uninhabited, was thought to be a good place of concealment. The Island supplied rabbits, monkeys, turtle, oysters, and birds; which provision was inducement to the Buccaneers, notwithstanding the rains, to remain there, indulging in idleness, till near the end of July, when the weather began to be dry. They killed a snake at *Gorgona*, eleven feet long, and fourteen inches in circumference.

July. July the 25th, they put to sea. Sharp had expressed an intention to attack *Guayaquil*; but he was now of opinion that their long stay at *Gorgona* must have occasioned their being discovered by the Spaniards, 'notwithstanding that he  
 ' himself had persuaded them to stay;' their plan was therefore changed for the attack of places more Southward, where they would be less expected. The winds were from the  
 Southward,

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\* Ringrose and Sharp.

Southward, and it was not till August the 13th, that they got as far as the *Island Plata*.

CHAP. 10.

1680.

August.

Island  
Plata.

The only landing at *Plata* at this time, was on the NE side, near a deep valley, where the ships anchored in 12 fathoms. Goats were on this Island in such numbers, that they killed above a hundred in a day with little labour, and salted what they did not want for present use. Turtle and fish were in plenty. They found only one small spring of fresh water, which was near the landing place, and did not yield them more than 20 gallons in the 24 hours. There were no trees on any part of the Island.

From *Plata* they proceeded Southward. The 25th, near *Cape St. Elena*, they met a Spanish ship from *Guayaquil* bound to *Panama*, which they took after a short action in which one Buccaneer was killed, and two others were wounded. In this prize they found 3000 dollars. They learnt from their prisoners, that one of the small buccaneer tenders, which had been separated from Sawkins in sailing from the *Bay of Panama*, had been taken by the Spaniards, after losing six men out of seven which composed her crew. Their adventure was as follows. Not being able to join their Commander Sawkins at *Quibo*, they sailed to the Island *Gallo* near the Continent (in about 2° N.) where they found a party of Spaniards, from whom they took three white women. A few days afterwards, they put in at another small Island, four leagues distant from *Gallo*, where they proposed to remain on the lookout, in hopes of seeing some of their friends come that way, as Sawkins had declared it his intention to go to the coast of *Peru*. Whilst they were waiting in this expectation, a Spaniard whom they had kept prisoner, made his escape from them, and got over to the main land. This small buccaneer crew had the imprudence nevertheless to remain in the same quarters long enough to give time for a party of Spaniards to pass over from the main land, which

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

Adventure  
of a small  
Crew of  
Buccaneers

## CHAP. 10

1680.

August.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

they did without being perceived, and placed themselves in ambuscade with so much advantage, that at one volley they killed six Buccaneers out of the seven: the one remaining became their prisoner.

Sharp and his men divided the small sum of money taken in their last prize, and sunk her. Ringrose relates, 'we also ' punished a Friar and shot him upon the deck, casting him ' overboard while he was yet alive. I abhorred such cruelties, ' yet was forced to hold my tongue.' It is not said in what manner the Friar had offended, and Sharp does not mention the circumstance in his Journal.

One of the two vessels in which the Buccaneers cruised, sailed badly, on which account she was abandoned, and they all embarked in the ship named the *Trinidad*.

September.

On the 4th of September they took a vessel from *Guayaquil* bound for *Lima*, with a lading of timber, chocolate, raw silk, Indian cloth, and thread stockings. It appears here to have been a custom among the Buccaneers, for the first who boarded an enemy, or captured vessel, to be allowed some extra privilege of plunder. Ringrose says, 'we cast dice for the ' first entrance, and the lot fell to the larboard watch, so ' twenty men belonging to that watch, entered her.' They took out of this vessel as much of the cargo as they chose, and put some of their prisoners in her; after which they dismissed her with only one mast standing and one sail, that she should not be able to prosecute her voyage Southward. Sharp passed *Callao* at a distance from land, being apprehensive there might be ships of war in the road. October the 26th, he was near the town of *Arica*, when the boats manned with a large party of Buccaneers departed from the ship with intention to attack the town; but, on coming near the shore, they found the surf high, and the whole country appeared to be in arms.

October.

They

They returned to the ship, and it was agreed to bear away for *Ilo*, a small town on the coast, in latitude about 17° 40' S. Their stock of fresh water was by this time so reduced, that they had come to an allowance of only half a pint for a man for the day; and it is related that a pint of water was sold in the ship for 30 dollars. They succeeded however in landing at *Ilo*, and obtained there fresh water, wine, fruits, flour, oil, chocolate, sugar, and other provisions. The Spaniards would give neither money nor cattle to have their buildings and plantations spared, and the Buccaneers committed all the mischief they could.

CHAP. 10.

1680.

October.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.28th,  
*Ilo*.

From *Ilo* they proceeded Southward. December the 1st, in the night, being in latitude about 31°, they found themselves in white water, like banks or breakers, which extended a mile or more in length; but they were relieved from their alarm by discovering that what they had apprehended to be rocks and breakers was a large shoal of anchovies.

December.

Shoals of  
Anchovies.

December the 3d, they landed at the town of *La Serena*, which they entered without opposition. Some Spaniards came to negotiate with them to ransom the town from being burnt, for which they agreed to pay 95,000 pieces of eight; but the money came not at the time appointed, and the Buccaneers had reason to suspect the Spaniards intended to deceive them. Ringrose relates, that a man ventured to come in the night from the shore, on a float made of a horse's hide blown up like a bladder. He being arrived at the ship, went under the stern and crammed oakum and brimstone and other combustible matter between the rudder and the stern-post. Having done this, he fired it with a match, so that in a small time our rudder was on fire, and all the ship in a smoke. Our men, both alarmed and amazed with this smoke, ran up and down the ship, suspecting the prisoners to have fired the vessel, thereby to get their

La Serena  
plundered  
and burnt.Attempt  
of the  
Spaniards  
to burn the  
Ship.



CHAP. 10. ' their liberty and seek our destruction. At last they found out  
 1680. ' where the fire was, and had the good fortune to quench it  
 December. ' before its going too far. After which we sent the boat ashore,  
 On the ' and found both the hide afore-mentioned, and the match  
 Coast of ' burning at both ends, whereby we became acquainted with  
 Peru. ' the whole matter.'

By the *La Serena* expedition they obtained five hundred pounds weight of silver. One of the crew died in consequence of hard drinking whilst on shore. They released all their prisoners here, except a pilot; after which, they stood from the Continent for *Juan Fernandez*. In their approach to that Island, it is remarked by Ringrose, that they saw neither bird, nor fish; and this being noticed to the pilot, he made answer, that he had many times sailed by *Juan Fernandez*, and had never seen either fish or fowl whilst at sea in sight of the Island.

Island On Christmas day, they anchored in a Bay at the South part  
 Juan of *Juan Fernandez*; but finding the winds SE and Southerly, they quitted that anchorage, and went to a Bay on the North side of the Island, where they cast anchor in 14 fathoms, so near to the shore that they fastened the end of another cable from the ship to the trees; being sheltered by the land from ESE round by the South and West, and as far as N b W\*. Their fastenings, however, did not hold the ship against the strong flurries that blew from the land, and she was twice forced to sea; but each time recovered the anchorage without much difficulty.

1681. The shore of this bay was covered with seals and sea lions,  
 January. whose noise and company were very troublesome to the men employed in filling fresh water. The seals coveted to lie where streams of fresh water ran into the sea, which made it necessary to keep people constantly employed to beat them off. Fish

were

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\* *Sharp's Journal*, p. 72.

were in the greatest plenty; and innumerable sea birds had their nests near the shore, which makes the remark of Ringrose on approaching the Island the more extraordinary. Craw-fish and lobsters were in abundance; and on the Island itself goats were in such plenty, that, besides what they eat during their stay, they killed about a hundred for salting, and took away as many alive.

CHAP. 10.  
1681.  
January.  
At Juan  
Fernandez.

Here new disagreements broke out among the Buccaneers. Some wished to sail immediately homeward by the *Strait of Magalhanes*; others desired to try their fortune longer in the *South Sea*. Sharp was of the party for returning home; but in the end the majority deposed him from the command, and elected for his successor John Watling, 'an old privateer, and 'esteemed a stout seaman.' Articles were drawn up in writing between Watling and the crew, and subscribed.

Sharp  
deposed  
from the  
Command.

Watling  
elected  
Commander.

One Narrative says, 'the true occasion of the grudge against 'Sharp was, that he had got by these adventures almost a 'thousand pounds, whereas many of our men were scarce 'worth a groat; and good reason there was for their poverty, 'for at the *Isle of Plate* and other places, they had lost all 'their money to their fellow Buccaneers at dice; so that 'some had a great deal, and others, just nothing. Those who 'were thrifty sided with Captain Sharp, but the others, being 'the greatest number, turned Sharp out of his command; and 'Sharp's party were persuaded to have patience, seeing they 'were the fewest, and had money to lose, which the other party 'had not.' Dampier says Sharp was displaced by general consent, the company not being satisfied either with his courage or his conduct.

Watling began his command by ordering the observance of the Sabbath. 'This day, January the 9th,' says Ringrose, 'was 'the first Sunday that ever we kept by command since the loss  
'and

CHAP. 10. ' and death of our valiant Commander Captain Sawkins, who  
 1681. ' once threw the dice overboard, finding them in use on the  
 January. ' said day.'

11th. The 11th, two boats were sent from the ship to a distant  
 12th. part of the Island to catch goats. On the following morning,  
 They sail the boats were seen returning in great haste, and firing muskets  
 from Juan to give alarm. When arrived on board, they gave information  
 Fernandez. that three sail, which they believed to be Spanish ships of war,  
 were in sight of the Island, and were making for the anchorage.  
 In half an hour after this notice, the strange ships were seen  
 from the Bay; upon which, all the men employed on shore in  
 watering, hunting, and other occupations, were called on board  
 with the utmost speed; and not to lose time, the cable was  
 slipped, and the ship put to sea. It happened in this hurry of  
 quitting the Island, that one of the Mosquito Indians who had  
 come with the Buccaneers, and was by them called William, was  
 absent in the woods hunting goats, and heard nothing of the  
 alarm. No time could be spared for search, and the ship sailed  
 without him. This it seems was not the first instance of a solitary  
 individual being left to inhabit *Juan Fernandez*. Their Spanish  
 pilot affirmed to them, that 'many years before, a ship had  
 ' been cast away there, and only one man saved, who lived  
 ' alone upon the Island five years, when another ship coming  
 ' that way, took him off.'

William,  
 a Mosquito  
 Indian,  
 left on the  
 Island.

The three vessels whose appearance caused them in such haste  
 to quit their anchorage, were armed Spanish ships. They re-  
 mained in sight of the Buccaneer ship two days, but no incli-  
 nation appeared on either side to try the event of a battle.  
 The Buccaneers had not a single great gun in their ship, and  
 must have trusted to their musketry and to boarding.

13th. On the evening of the 13th after dark, they resigned the  
 honour of the field to the Spaniards, and made sail Eastward  
 for

for the American coast, with design to attack *Arica*, which place they had been informed contained great riches.

CHAP. 10.

1681.

January

26th.

Island

Yqueque.

The 26th, they were close to the small Island named *Yqueque*, about 25 leagues to the South of *Arica*, where they plundered a small Indian village of provisions, and took two old Spaniards and two Indians prisoners. This Island was destitute of fresh water, and the inhabitants were obliged to supply themselves from the Continent, at a river named *De Camarones*, 11 Spanish leagues to the North of *Yqueque*. The people on *Yqueque* were the servants and slaves of the Governor of *Arica*, and were employed by him to catch and dry fish, which were disposed of to great profit among the inland towns of the Continent. The Indians here eat much and often of certain leaves 'which were in taste much like to the bay leaves in England, by the continual use of which their teeth were dyed of a green colour.'

River de  
Camarones.

The 27th, Watling examined one of the old Spaniards concerning the force at *Arica*; and being offended at his answers, ordered him to be shot, which was done. The same morning they took a small bark from the River *Camarones*, laden with fresh water.

27th.

In the night of the 28th, Watling with one hundred men departed from the ship in the small prize bark and boats for *Arica*. They put ashore on the mainland about five leagues to the South of *Arica*, before it was light, and remained concealed among rocks all day. At night, they again proceeded, and at daylight (on the 30th) Watling landed with 92 men, four miles from the town; to which they marched, and gained entrance, with the loss of three men killed, and two wounded. There was a castle or fort, which for their own security they ought immediately to have attacked; but Watling was only intent on making prisoners, until he was incommoded with more than could be well guarded. This gave the inhabitants who had

30th.

They attack  
*Arica*.

VOL. IV.

Q

fled,

## CHAP. 10.

1681.

January.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.Are  
Repulsed.Watling  
killed.

fled, time to recover from their alarm, and they collected in the Fort. To complete the mistake, Watling at length advanced to attack the fort, where he found resistance more than he expected. Watling put in practice the expedient of placing his prisoners in front of his own men ; but the defenders of the fort were not a whit deterred thereby from firing on the Buccaneers, who were twice repulsed. The Spaniards without, in the mean time, began to make head from all parts ; and in a little time the Buccaneers, from being the assailants, found themselves obliged to look to their defence. Watling their chief was killed, as were two quarter-masters, the boatswain, and some others of their best men ; and the rest thought it necessary to retreat to their boats, which, though harassed the whole way by a distant firing from the Spaniards, they effected in tolerable order, and embarked.

In this attack, the Buccaneers lost in killed, and taken prisoners by the Spaniards, 28 men ; and of those who got back to the ship, eighteen were wounded. Among the men taken by the Spaniards were two surgeons, to whose care the wounded had been committed. ‘ We could have brought off our ‘ doctors,’ says Ringrose, ‘ but they got to drinking whilst we ‘ were assaulting the fort, and when we called to them, they ‘ would not come with us.’ The Spaniards gave quarter to the surgeons, ‘ they being able to do them good service in that ‘ country : but as to the wounded men taken prisoners, they ‘ were all knocked on the head.’

The whole party that landed at *Arica* narrowly escaped destruction ; for the Spaniards learnt from the prisoners they took, the signals which had been agreed upon with the men left in charge of the boats ; of which information they made such use, that the boats had quitted their station, and set sail to run down to the town ; but some Buccaneers who had been most speedy

speedy in the retreat, arrived at the sea side just in time to call them back.

CHAP. 10.

1681.

This miscarriage so much disheartened the whole Buccaneer crew, that they made no attempt to take three ships which were at anchor in the road before *Arica*. Sharp was reinstated in the command, because he was esteemed a leader of safer conduct than any other; and every one was willing to quit the *South Sea*, but which it was now proposed they should do by re-crossing the *Isthmus*. They did not, however, immediately steer Northward; but continued to beat up against the wind to the Southward, till the 10th of March, when they landed at *Guasco* or *Huasco* (in lat. about 28½°) from which place they carried off 120 sheep, 80 goats, 200 bushels of corn, and filled their jars with fresh water.

January.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

Sharp again  
chosen  
Commander.

March.

Huasco.

From *Huasco* they stood to the North. On the 27th, they passed *Arica*. The Narrative remarks, 'our former entertainment had been so very bad, that we were no ways encouraged to stop there again.' They landed at *Ylo*, of which Wafer says, 'the *River Ylo* is situated in a valley which is the finest I have seen in all the coast of *Peru*, and furnished with a multitude of vegetables. A great dew falls here every night.'

Ylo.

April the 16th, they were near the Island *Plata*. By this time new opinions and new projects had been formed. Many of the crew were again willing to try their fortune longer in the *South Sea*; but one party would not continue under the command of Sharp, and others would not consent to choosing a new commander. As neither party would yield, it was determined to separate, and agreed upon by all hands, 'that which party soever upon polling should be found to have the majority, should keep the ship.' The other party was to have the long-boat and the canoes. On coming to a division, Sharp's party proved the most numerous. The minority consisted of forty-four Euro-

April.

CHAP. 10. peans, two Mosquito Indians, and a Spanish Indian. On the  
 1681. forenoon of the 17th, the party in the boats separated from the  
 April. ship, and proceeded for the *Gulf de San Miguel*, where they  
 Another landed, and returned over the *Isthmus* back to the *West Indies*. In  
 Party of the this party were William Dampier, and Lionel Wafer the surgeon.  
 Buccaneers Dampier afterwards published a brief sketch of the expedition,  
 return and an account of his return across the *Isthmus*, both of which  
 across the are in the 1st volume of his *Voyages*. Wafer met with an acci-  
 Isthmus. dental hurt whilst on the *Isthmus*, which disabled him from  
 travelling with his countrymen, and he remained some months  
 living with the Darien Indians, of whom he afterwards pub-  
 lished an entertaining description, with a Narrative of his  
 own adventures among them.

Further Sharp and his diminished crew sailed in their ship from the  
 Proceedings of Sharp Island *Plata* Northward to the *Gulf of Nicoya*, where they met  
 and his with no booty, nor with any adventure worth mentioning.  
 Followers.

July.

They returned Southward to the Island *Plata*, and in the way  
 took three prizes : the first, a ship named the *San Pedro*, from  
*Guayaquil* bound for *Panama*, with a lading of cocoa-nuts, and  
 21,000 pieces of eight in chests, and 16,000 in bags, besides  
 plate. The money in bags and all the loose plunder was  
 divided, each man receiving for his share 234 pieces of eight ;  
 whence it may be inferred that their number was reduced to  
 about 70 men. The rest of the money was reserved for a future  
 division. Their second prize was a packet from *Panama* bound  
 for *Callao*, by which they learnt that in *Panama* it was believed  
 all the Buccaneers had returned overland to the *West Indies*.  
 The third was a ship named the *San Rosario*, which did not  
 submit to them without resistance, nor till her Captain was  
 killed. She was from *Callao*, laden with wine, brandy, oil, and  
 fruit, and had in her as much money as yielded to each Buc-  
 caneer 94 dollars. One Narrative says a much greater booty

was

was missed through ignorance. ‘ Besides the lading already  
 ‘ mentioned, we found in the San Rosario 700 pigs of plate,  
 ‘ which we supposed to be tin, and under this mistake, they  
 ‘ were slighted by us all, especially by the Captain, who would  
 ‘ not by persuasions used by some few be induced to take  
 ‘ them into our ship, as we did most of the other things. Thus  
 ‘ we left them in the *Rosario*, which we turned away loose into  
 ‘ the sea. This, it should seem, was plate, not thoroughly  
 ‘ refined and fitted for coin, which occasioned our being de-  
 ‘ ceived. We took only one pig of the seven hundred into our  
 ‘ ship, thinking to make bullets of it; and to this effect, or what  
 ‘ else our seamen pleased, the greatest part of it was melted and  
 ‘ squandered away. Afterwards, when we arrived at *Antigua*,  
 ‘ we gave the remaining part (which was about one-third  
 ‘ thereof) to a *Bristol* man, who knew presently what it was;  
 ‘ who brought it to *England*, and sold it there for 75 *l.* sterling.  
 ‘ Thus we parted with the richest booty we got in the whole  
 ‘ voyage, through our own ignorance and laziness\*.’

CHAP. 10.

1681.

July.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

The same Narrative relates, that they took out of the Rosario  
 ‘ a great book full of sea charts and maps, containing an accu-  
 ‘ rate and exact description of all the ports, soundings, rivers,  
 ‘ capes, and coasts, of the *South Sea*, and all the navigation  
 ‘ usually performed by the Spaniards in that ocean. This book  
 ‘ was for its novelty and curiosity presented unto His Majesty  
 ‘ on the return of some of the Buccaneers to *England*, and  
 ‘ was translated into English by His Majesty’s order†.’

August

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\* *Buccaneers of America*, Part III, p. 80.

† Nos. 239. and 44. in the *Sloane Collection of Manuscripts* in the *British Museum*, are probably the charts and translation spoken of above. No. 239. is a book of Spanish charts of the sea-coast of *New Spain*, *Peru*, and *Chili*, each chart containing a small portion of coast, on which is drawn a rude likeness of the appearance of the land, making it at the same time both landscape and chart. They are generally without compass, latitude, or divisions of any kind by lines,  
and



CHAP. 10.

1681.

August.

August the 12th, they anchored at the Island *Plata*, whence they departed on the 16th, bound Southward, intending to return by the *Strait of Magalhanes* or *Strait le Maire*, to the *West Indies*.

The 28th, they looked in at *Paita*; but finding the place prepared for defence, they stood off from the coast, and pursued their course Southward, without again coming in sight of land, and without the occurrence of any thing remarkable, till they passed the 50th degree of latitude.

October.

By the  
Western  
Coast of  
America, in  
50° 50' S.

12th.

October the 11th, they were in latitude 49° 54' S, and estimated their distance from the American coast to be 120 leagues. The wind blew strong from the SW, and they stood to the South East. On the morning of the 12th, two hours before day, being in latitude by account 50° 50' S, they suddenly found themselves close to land. The ship was ill prepared for such an event, the fore yard having been lowered to ease her, on account of the strength of the wind. 'The land was high and towering; and here appeared many Islands scattered up and down.' They were so near, and so entangled, that there was no possibility of standing off to sea, and, with such light as they had, they steered, as cautiously as they could, in between some Islands, and along an extensive coast, which, whether it was a larger Island, or part of the Continent, they could not know. As the day advanced, the land was seen to be mountainous and craggy, and the tops covered with snow. Sharp says, 'we bore up for a harbour, and steered in Northward about five leagues. On the North side there are plenty of harbours\*.' At 11 in the forenoon they came to an anchor 'in a harbour, in 45 fathoms, within a stone's cast of the shore, where

They enter  
a Gulf.

and with no appearance of correctness, but apparently with knowledge of the coast.—No. 44. is a copy of the same, or of similar Spanish charts of the same coast, and is dedicated to King Charles II. by Bartholomew Sharp.

\* Sharp's Manuscript Journal. Brit. Mus.

‘ where the ship was landlocked, and in smooth water. As the  
 ‘ ship went in, one of the crew, named Henry Shergull, fell  
 ‘ overboard as he was going into the spritsail top, and was  
 ‘ drowned; on which account this was named *Shergull's*  
 ‘ *Harbour.*’

CHAP. 10.

1681.

October.

Shergull's  
Harbour.

The bottom was rocky where the ship had anchored; a boat was therefore sent to look for better anchorage. They did not however shift their birth that day; and during the night, strong flurries of wind from the hills, joined with the sharpness of the rocks at the bottom, cut their cable in two, and they were obliged to set sail. They ran about a mile to another bay, where they let go another anchor, and moored the ship with a fastening to a tree on shore.

Another  
Harbour.

They shot geese, and other wild-fowl. On the shores they found large muscles, cockles like those in *England*, and limpets: here were also penguins, which were shy and not taken without pursuit; ‘ they paddled on the water with their wings very fast, but their bodies were too heavy to be carried by the said wings.’

The first part of the time they lay in this harbour, they had almost continual rain. On the night of the 15th, in a high North wind, the tree to which their cable was fastened gave way, and came up by the root, in consequence of which, the stern of the ship took the ground and damaged the rudder. They secured the ship afresh by fastening the cable to other trees; but were obliged to unhang the rudder to repair.

15th.

The 18th was a day of clear weather. The latitude was observed 50° 40' S. The difference of the rise and fall of the tide was seven feet perpendicular: the time of high water is not noted. The arm of the sea, or gulf, in which they were, they named the *English Gulf*; and the land forming the harbour, the *Duke of York's Island*; ‘ more by guess than any thing else;

18th.

The Gulf  
is named  
the English  
Gulf.

‘ for

CHAP. 10. ' for whether it were an Island or Continent was not discovered.'  
 1681. Ringrose says, ' I am persuaded that the place where we now  
 October. ' are, is not so great an Island as some Hydrographers do lay  
 ' it down, but rather an archipelago of smaller Islands. Our  
 Duke of ' Captain gave to them the name of the *Duke of York's Islands*.  
 York's ' Our boat which went Eastward, found several good bays and  
 Islands. ' harbours, with deep water close to the shore ; but there lay  
 ' in them several sunken rocks, as there did also in the harbour  
 ' where the ship lay. These rocks are less dangerous to shipping,  
 ' by reason they have weeds lying about them.'

Sharp's ' From all the preceding description, it appears, that they  
 English were at the South part of the Island named *Madre de Dios* in  
 Gulf, the the Spanish Atlas, which Island is South of the Channel, or  
 Brazo de la the Spanish Atlas, which Island is South of the Channel, or  
 Concepcion Arm of the Sea, named the *Gulf de la S<sup>ra</sup> Trinidad*; and  
 of that Sharp's *English Gulf* is the *Brazo de la Concepcion* of  
 Sarmiento. Sarmiento.

Ringrose has drawn a sketch of the *Duke of York's Islands*, and one of the *English Gulf*; but which are not worth copying, as they have neither compass, meridian line, scale, nor soundings. He has given other plans in the same defective manner, on which account they can be of little use. It is necessary however to remark a difference in the plan which has been printed of the *English Gulf*, from the plan in the manuscript. In the printed copy, the shore of the *Gulf* is drawn as one continued line, admitting no thoroughfare; whereas, in the manuscript plan, there are clear openings leaving a prospect of channels through.

Towards the end of October, the weather settled fair. Hitherto they had seen no inhabitants; but on the 27th, a party went from the ship in a boat, on an excursion in search of provisions, and unhappily caught sight of a small boat belonging to the natives of the land. The ship's boat rowed in pursuit, and the natives, a man, a woman, and a boy, finding their boat would be overtaken,

taken, all leapt overboard and swam towards shore. This villainous crew of Buccaneers had the barbarity to shoot at them in the water, and they shot the man dead; the woman made her escape to land; the boy, a stout lad about eighteen years of age, was taken, and with the Indian boat, was carried to the ship.

CHAP. 10.

1681.

October.

One of  
them killed  
by the  
Buccaneers.

The poor lad thus made prisoner had only a small covering of seal skin. 'He was squint-eyed, and his hair was cut short. 'The *doree*, or boat, in which he and the other Indians were, 'was built sharp at each end and flat bottomed: in the 'middle they had a fire burning for dressing victuals, or other 'use. They had a net to catch penguins, a club like to our 'bandies, and wooden darts. This young Indian appeared by 'his actions to be very innocent and foolish. He could open 'large muscles with his fingers, which our Buccaneers could 'scarcely manage with their knives. He was very wild, and 'would eat raw flesh.'

By the beginning of November the rudder was repaired and hung. Ringrose says, 'we could perceive, now the stormy 'weather was blown over, much small fry of fish about the 'ship, whereof before we saw none. The weather began to be 'warm, or rather hot, and the birds, as thrushes and blackbirds, 'to sing as sweetly as those in England.'

November.

On the 5th of November, they sailed out of the *English Gulf*, taking with them their young Indian prisoner, to whom they gave the name of Orson. As they departed, the natives on some of the lands to the Eastward made great fires. At six in the evening the ship was without the mouth of the *Gulf*: the wind blew fresh from NW, and they stood out SWbW, to keep clear of breakers which lie four leagues without the entrance of the *Gulf* to the South and SSE. Many reefs and rocks were seen hereabouts, on account of which, they kept close to the wind till they were a good distance clear of the land.

Native of  
Patagonia  
carried  
away.

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R

Their

- CHAP. 10.** Their navigation from here to the *Atlantic* was, more than  
 1681. could have been imagined, like the journey of travellers by  
 November. night in a strange country without a guide. The weather was  
 stormy, and they would not venture to steer in for the *Strait of*  
*Magalhães*, which they had purposed to do for the benefit of  
 the provision which the shores of the *Strait* afford of fresh water,  
 fish, vegetables, and wood. They ran to the South to go round  
 the *Tierra del Fuego*, having the wind from the NW, which was  
 the most favourable for this navigation; but they frequently lay  
 to, because the weather was thick. On the 12th, they had not  
 Passage round Cape Horn. passed the *Tierra del Fuego*. The latitude according to obser-  
 vation that day was  $55^{\circ} 25'$ , and the course they steered was  
 SSE. On the 14th, Ringrose says, 'the latitude was observed  
 14th. '  $57^{\circ} 50' S$ , and on this day we could perceive land, from which  
 Appearance like Land. ' at noon we were due West.' They steered EbS, and expected  
 Latitude observed, that at daylight the next morning they should be close in with  
 $57^{\circ} 50' S$ . the land; but the weather became cloudy with much fall of  
 snow, and nothing more of it was seen. No longitude or  
 meridian distance is noticed, and it must remain doubtful  
 whether what they took for land was floating ice; or their  
 observation for the latitude erroneous, and that they saw the  
*Isles of Diego Ramirez*.  
 Ice Islands. Three days afterwards, in latitude  $58^{\circ} 30' S$ , they fell in with  
 Ice Islands, one of which they reckoned to be two leagues  
 in circumference. A strong current set here Southward. They  
 held on their course Eastward so far that when at length they  
 did sail Northward, they saw neither the *Tierra del Fuego* nor  
*Staten Island*.  
 December. December the 5th, they divided the plunder which had been  
 reserved, each man's share of which amounted to 328 pieces of  
 eight. Their course was now bent for the *West Indies*.  
 1682. January the 15th, died William Stephens, a seaman, whose  
 January. death was attributed to his having eaten three manchineal  
 apples

apples six months before, when on the coast of *New Spain*,  
 ‘ from which time he wasted away till he became a perfect  
 ‘ skeleton.’

CHAP. 10.

1682.

January.

Arrive  
in the  
West Indies.

January the 28th, 1682, they made the Island of *Barbadoes*, but learnt that the *Richmond*, a British frigate, was lying in the road. Ringrose and his fellow journalists say, ‘ we having acted ‘ in all our voyage without a commission, dared not be so bold ‘ as to put in, lest the said frigate should seize us for pyrateering, ‘ and strip us of all we had got in the whole voyage.’ They next sailed to *Antigua*; but the Governor at that Island, Colonel Codrington, would not give them leave to enter the harbour, though they endeavoured to soften him by sending a present of jewels to his lady, which, however, were not accepted. Sharp and his crew grew impatient at their uneasy situation, and came to a determination to separate. Some of them landed at *Antigua*; Sharp and others landed at *Nevis*, whence they got passage to *England*. Their ship, which was the *Trinidad* captured in the *Bay of Panama*, was left to seven men of the company who had lost their money by gaming. The Buccaneer journals say nothing of their Patagonian captive Orson after the ship sailed from his country; and what became of the ship after Sharp quitted her does not appear.

Bartholomew Sharp, and a few others, on their arrival in *England*, were apprehended, and a Court of Admiralty was held at the *Marshalsea* in *Southwark*, where, at the instance of the Spanish Ambassador, they were tried for committing acts of piracy in the *South Sea*; but from the defectiveness of the evidence produced, they escaped conviction. One of the principal charges against them was for taking the Spanish ship *Rosario*, and killing the Captain and another man belonging to her; ‘ but it was proved,’ says the author of the anonymous Narrative, who was one of the men brought to trial, ‘ that the

Bart. Sharp  
and some  
of his men  
tried for  
Piracy.

CHAP. 10. 'Spaniards fired at us first, and it was judged that we ought  
1682. 'to defend ourselves.' Three Buccaneers of Sharp's crew were also tried at *Jamaica*, one of whom was condemned and hanged, 'who,' the narrator says, 'was wheedled into an open confession: the other two stood it out, and escaped for want of witnesses to prove the fact against them.' Thus terminated what may be called the First Expedition of the Buccaneers in the *South Sea*; the boat excursion by Morgan's men in the *Bay of Panama* being of too little consequence to be so reckoned. They had now made successful experiment of the route both by sea and land; and the Spaniards in the *South Sea* had reason to apprehend a speedy renewal of their visits.

Carlos Enriquez Clerck, who went from *England* with Captain Narbrough, was at this time executed at *Lima*, on a charge of holding correspondence with the English of *Jamaica*; which act of severity probably is attributable more to the alarm which prevailed in the Government of *Peru*, than to any guilty practices of Clerck.

## C H A P. XI.

*Disputes between the French Government and their West-India Colonies. Morgan becomes Deputy Governor of Jamaica. La Vera Cruz surprised by the Flibustiers. Other of their Enterprises.*

WHILST so many of the English Buccaneers were seeking plunder in the *South Sea*, the French Flibustiers had not been inactive in the *West Indies*, notwithstanding that the French government, after the conclusion of the war with *Spain*, issued orders prohibiting the subjects of *France* in the *West Indies* from cruising against the Spaniards. A short time before this order arrived, a cruising commission had been given to Granmont, who had thereupon collected men, and made preparation for an expedition to the *Tierra Firma*; and they did not choose that so much pains should be taken to no purpose. The French settlers generally, were at this time much dissatisfied on account of some regulations imposed upon them by the Company of Farmers, whose privileges and authority extended to fixing the price upon growth, the produce of the soil; and which they exercised upon tobacco, the article then most cultivated by the French in *Hispaniola*, rigorously requiring the planters to deliver it to the Company at the price so prescribed. Many of the inhabitants, ill brooking to live under such a system of robbery, made preparations to withdraw to the English and Dutch settlements; but their discontent on this account was much allayed by the Governor writing a remonstrance to the French Minister, and promising them his influence towards obtaining a suppression of the farming tobacco. Fresh cause of discontent soon occurred, by a monopoly of the French African

CHAP. 11.

1680.

Proceed-  
ings of the  
Buccaneers  
in the  
West Indies.  
Prohibitions  
against  
Piracy by  
the French  
Government;



**CHAP. 11.** African Slave Trade being put into the hands of a new company, which was named the *Senegal* Company.

1680. Disregarded by the French Buccaneers. Granmont and the Flibustiers engaged with him, went to the coast of *Cumana*, where they did considerable mischief to the Spaniards, with some loss, and little profit, to themselves.

1680-1. In the autumn of this same year, the Earl of Carlisle, who was Governor of *Jamaica*, finding the climate did not agree with his constitution, returned to *England*, and left as his Deputy to govern in *Jamaica*, Morgan, the plunderer of *Panama*, but who was now Sir Henry Morgan. This man had found favour with King Charles II. or with his Ministers, had been knighted, and appointed a Commissioner of the Admiralty Court in *Jamaica*. On becoming Deputy Governor, his administration was far from being favourable to his old associates, some of whom suffered the extreme hardship of being tried and hanged under his authority; and one crew of Buccaneers, most of them Englishmen, who fell into his hands, he sent to be delivered up (it may be presumed that he sold them) to the Spaniards at *Carthagera*. Morgan's authority as Governor was terminated the following year, by the arrival of a Governor from *England* \*.

Sir Henry Morgan, Deputy Governor of Jamaica.

His Severity to the Buccaneers.

1683. The impositions on planting and commerce in the French settlements, in the same degree that they discouraged cultivation, encouraged cruising, and the Flibustier party so much increased, as to have little danger to apprehend from any Governor's authority. The matter however did not come to issue, for in 1683, war again broke out between *France* and *Spain*. But before the intelligence arrived in the *West Indies*, 1200 French Flibustiers had assembled under Van Horn (a native of

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\* Morgan continued in office at *Jamaica* during the remainder of the reign of King Charles the II.; but was suspected by the Spaniards of connivance with the Buccaneers, and in the next reign, the Court of *Spain* had influence to procure his being sent home prisoner from the *West Indies*. He was kept three years in prison; but without charge being brought forward against him.

of *Ostend*), Granmont, and another noted Flibustier named Laurent de Graaf, to make an expedition against the Spaniards.

CHAP. 11.

1683.

Van Horn had been a notorious pirate, and for a number of years had plundered generally, without shewing partiality or favour to ships of one nation more than to those of another. After amassing great riches, he began to think plain piracy too dangerous an occupation, and determined to reform, which he did by making his peace with the French Governor in *Hispaniola*, and turning Buccaneer or Flibustier, into which fraternity he was admitted on paying entrance.

Van Horn,  
Granmont,  
and  
de Graaf,  
go against  
*La Vera  
Cruz*.

The expedition which he undertook in conjunction with Granmont and de Graaf, was against *La Vera Cruz* in the *Gulf of Mexico*, a town which might be considered as the magazine for all the merchandise which passed between *New Spain* and *Old Spain*, and was defended by a fort, said to be impregnable. The Flibustiers sailed for this place with a fleet of ten ships. They had information that two large Spanish ships, with cargoes of cacao, were expected at *La Vera Cruz* from the *Caraccas*; and upon this intelligence, they put in practice the following expedient. They embarked the greater number of their men on board two of their largest ships, which, on arriving near *La Vera Cruz*, put aloft Spanish colours, and ran, with all sail set, directly for the port like ships chased, the rest of the Buccaneer ships appearing at a distance behind, crowding sail after them. The inhabitants of *La Vera Cruz* believed the two headmost ships to be those which were expected from the *Caraccas*; and, as the Flibustiers had contrived that they should not reach the port till after dark, suffered them to enter without offering them molestation, and to anchor close to the town, which they did without being suspected to be enemies. In the middle of the night, the Flibustiers landed, and surprised the fort, which made them

They sur-  
prise the  
town by  
stratagem.

masters

CHAP. II. 1683. masters of the town. The Spaniards of the garrison, and all the inhabitants who fell into their hands, they shut up in the churches, where they were kept three days, and with so little care for their subsistence that several died from thirst, and some by drinking immoderately when water was at length given to them. With the plunder, and what was obtained for ransom of the town, it is said the Flibustiers carried away a million of piastres, besides a number of slaves and prisoners.

Van Horn shortly after died of a wound received in a quarrel with De Graaf. The ship he had commanded, which mounted fifty guns, was bequeathed by him to Granmont, who a short time before had lost a ship of nearly the same force in a gale of wind.

Story of  
Granmont  
and an  
English  
Ship.

Some quarrels happened at this time between the French Flibustiers and the English Buccaneers, which are differently related by the English and the French writers. The French account says, that in a Spanish ship captured by the Flibustiers, was found a letter from the Governor of *Jamaica* addressed to the Governor of the *Havannah*, proposing a union of their force to drive the French from *Hispaniola*. Also, that an English ship of 30 guns came cruising near *Tortuga*, and when the Governor of *Tortuga* sent a sloop to demand of the English Captain his business there, the Englishman insolently replied, that the sea was alike free to all, and he had no account to render to any one. For this answer, the Governor sent out a ship to take the English ship, but the Governor's ship was roughly treated, and obliged to retire into port. Granmont had just returned from the *La Vera Cruz* expedition, and the Governor applied to him, to go with his fifty gun ship to revenge the affront put upon their nation. 'Granmont,' says the Narrator, 'accepted the commission joyfully. Three hundred Flibustiers embarked with him in his ship; he found the Englishman proud of his late victory; he

• he immediately grappled with him and put all the English crew to the sword, saving only the Captain, who he carried prisoner to *Cape François*.' On the merit of this service, his disobedience to the royal prohibitory order in attacking *La Vera Cruz* was to pass with impunity. The English were not yet sufficiently punished; the account proceeds, 'Our Flibustiers would no longer receive them as partakers in their enterprises, and even confiscated the share they were entitled to receive for the *La Vera Cruz* expedition.' Thus the French account.

CHAP. II.

1683.

If the story of demolishing the English crew is true, the fact is not more absurd than the being vain of such an exploit. If a fifty gun ship will determine to sink a thirty gun ship, the thirty gun ship must in all probability be sunk. The affront given, if it deserves to be called an affront, was not worthy being revenged with a massacre. The story is found only in the French histories, the writers of which it may be suspected were moved to make Granmont deal so unmercifully with the English crew, by the kind of feeling which so generally prevails between nations who are near neighbours. To this it may be attributed that Père Charlevoix, both a good historian and good critic, has adopted the story; but had it been believed by him, he would have related it in a more rational manner, and not with exultation.

English writers mention a disagreement which happened about this time between Granmont and the English Buccaneers, on account of his taking a sloop belonging to *Jamaica*, and forcing the crew to serve under him; but which crew found opportunity to take advantage of some disorder in his ship, and to escape in the night\*. This seems to have been the whole fact; for an outrage such as is affirmed by the French writers,

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\* *British Empire in America*, Vol. II. p. 319.

CHAP. 11. writers, could not have been committed and have been boasted  
1684. of by one side, without incurring reproach from the other.

The French Government was highly offended at the insubordination and unmanageableness of the Flibustiers in *Hispaniola*, and no one was more so than the French King, Louis XIV. Towards reducing them to a more orderly state, instructions were sent to the Governors in the *West Indies* to be strict in making them observe Port regulations; the principal of which were, that all vessels should register their crew and lading before their departure, and also at their return into port; that they should abstain from cruising in times of peace, and should take out regular commissions in times of war; and that they should pay the dues of the crown, one *item* of which was a tenth of all prizes and plunder.

Disputes of  
the French  
Governors  
with the  
Flibustiers  
of Saint  
Domingo.

The number of the French Flibustiers in 1684, was estimated to be 3000. The French Government desired to convert them into settlers. A letter written in that year from the French Minister to the Governor General of the French West-India Islands, has this remarkable expression: 'His Majesty esteems ' nothing more important than to render these vagabonds good ' inhabitants of *Saint Domingo*.' Such being the disposition of the French Government, it was an oversight that they did not contribute towards so desirable a purpose by making some abatement in the impositions which oppressed and retarded cultivation, which would have conciliated the Colonists, and have been encouragement to the Flibustiers to become planters. But the Colonists still had to struggle against farming the tobacco, which they had in vain attempted to get commuted for some other burthen, and many cultivators of that plant were reduced to indigence. The greediness of the French chartered companies appears in the *Senegal* Company making it a subject of complaint, that the Flibustiers sold the negroes they

they took from the Spaniards to whomsoever they pleased, CHAP. II.  
to the prejudice of the interest of the Company. It was 1684.  
unreasonable to expect the Flibustiers would give up their  
long accustomed modes of gain, sanctioned as they had  
hitherto been by the acquiescence and countenance of the  
French Government, and turn planters, under circumstances  
discouraging to industry. Their number likewise rendered it  
necessary to observe mildness and forbearance in the endeavour  
to reform them; but both the encouragement and the for-  
bearance were neglected; and in consequence of their being  
made to apprehend rigorous treatment in their own settle-  
ments, many removed to the British and Dutch Islands.

The French Flibustiers were unsuccessful at this time in  
some enterprises they undertook in the *Bay of Campeachy*,  
where they lost many men: on the other hand, three of their  
ships, commanded by De Graaf, Michel le Basque, and  
another Flibustier named Jonqué, engaged and took three  
Spanish ships which were sent purposely against them out of  
*Carthagena*.

## CHAP. XII.

*Circumstances which preceded the Second Irruption of the Buccaneers into the South Sea. Buccaneers under John Cook sail from Virginia; stop at the Cape de Verde Islands; at Sierra Leone. Origin and History of the Report concerning the supposed Discovery of Pepys Island.*

CHAP. 12.

THE Prohibitions being enforced, determined many, both of the English Buccaneers and of the French Flibustiers, to seek their fortunes in the *South Sea*, where they would be at a distance from the control of any established authority. This determination was not a matter generally concerted. The first example was speedily followed, and a trip to the *South Sea* in a short time became a prevailing fashion among them. Expeditions were undertaken by different bodies of men unconnected with each other, except when accident, or the similarity of their pursuits, brought them together.

Circum-  
stances pre-  
ceding the  
Second  
Irruption  
of the  
Buccaneers  
into the  
South Sea.

Among the Buccaneers in the expedition of 1680 to the *South Sea*, who from dislike to Sharp's command returned across the *Isthmus of Darien* at the same time with Dampier, was one John Cook, who on arriving again in the *West Indies*, entered on board a vessel commanded by a Dutchman of the name of Yanky, which was fitted up as a privateer, and provided with a French commission to cruise against the Spaniards. Cook, being esteemed a capable seaman, was made Quarter-Master, by which title, in privateers as well as in buccaneer vessels, the officer next in command to the Captain was called. Cook continued Quarter-Master with Yanky till they took a Spanish ship which was thought well adapted for a cruiser. Cook claimed

claimed to have the command of this ship, and, according to the usage among privateers in such cases, she was allotted to him, with a crew composed of men who volunteered to sail with him. Dampier was of the number, as were several others who had returned from the *South Sea*; division was made of the prize goods, and Cook entered on his new command.

CHAP. 12.  
1683.

This arrangement took place at *Isla Vaca*, or *Isle a Vache*, a small Island near the South coast of *Hispaniola*, which was then much resorted to by both privateers and Buccaneers. It happened at this time, that besides Yanky's ship, some French privateers having legal commissions, were lying at *Avache*, and their Commanders did not contentedly behold men without a commission, and who were but Buccaneers, in the possession of a finer ship than any belonging to themselves who cruised under lawful authority. The occasion being so fair, and remembering what Morgan had done in a case something similar, after short counsel, they joined together, and seized the buccaneer ship, goods, and arms, and turned the crew ashore. A fellow-feeling that still existed between the privateers and Buccaneers, and probably a want of hands, induced a Captain 'Tristian, who commanded one of the privateers, to receive into his ship ten of the Buccaneers to be part of his crew. Among these were Cook, and a Buccaneer afterwards of greater note, named Edward Davis. 'Tristian sailed to *Petit Guaves*, where the ship had not been long at anchor, before himself and the greatest part of his men went on shore. Cook and his companions thought this also a fair occasion, and accordingly they made themselves masters of the ship. Those of 'Tristian's men who were on board, they turned ashore, and immediately taking up the anchors, sailed back close in to the *Isle a Vache*, where, before notice of their exploit reached the Governor, they collected and took on board the remainder of their old company,



**CHAP. 12.** pany, and sailed away. They had scarcely left the *Isle a Vache*,  
 1683. when they met and captured two vessels, one of which was a ship from *France* laden with wines. Thinking it unsafe to continue longer in the *West Indies*, they directed their course for *Virginia*, where they arrived with their prizes in April 1683.

In *Virginia* they disposed of their prize goods, and two vessels, keeping one with which they proposed to make a voyage to the *South Sea*, and which they named the *Revenge*. She mounted 18 guns, and the number of adventurers who embarked in her, were about seventy, the major part of them old Buccaneers, some of whose names have since been much noted, as William Dampier, Edward Davis, Lionel Wafer, Ambrose Cowley, and John Cook their Captain. August the 23d, 1683, they sailed from the *Chesapeak*.

August.  
 Buccaneers  
 under  
 John Cook  
 sail for the  
 South Sea.

Dampier and Cowley have both related their piratical adventures, but with some degree of caution, to prevent bringing upon themselves a charge of piracy. Cowley pretended that he was engaged to sail in the *Revenge* to navigate her, but was kept in ignorance of the design of the voyage, and made to believe they were bound for the *Island Hispaniola*; and that it was not revealed to him till after they got out to sea, that instead of to the *West Indies*, they were bound to the coast of *Guinea*, there to seek for a better ship, in which they might sail to the *Great South Sea*. William Dampier, who always shews respect for truth, would not stoop to dissimulation; but he forbears being circumstantial concerning the outset of this voyage, and the particulars of their proceedings whilst in the *Atlantic*; supplying the chasm in the following general terms; " August the " 23d, 1683, we sailed from *Virginia* under the command of " Captain Cook, bound for the *South Seas*. I shall not trouble " the reader with an account of every day's run, but hasten to " the less known parts of the world."

Whilst

Whilst near the coast of *Virginia* they met a Dutch ship, out of which they took six casks of wine, and other provisions; also two Dutch seamen, who voluntarily entered with them. Some time in September they anchored at the *Isle of Sal*, where they procured fish and a few goats, but neither fruits nor good fresh water. Only five men lived on the Island, who were all black; but they called themselves Portuguese, and one was styled the Governor. These Portuguese exchanged a lump of ambergris, or what was supposed to be ambergris, for old clothes. Dampier says, ‘not a man in the ship knew ambergris, but I have since seen it in other places, and am certain this was not the right; it was of a dark colour, like sheep’s dung, very soft, but of no smell; and possibly was goat’s dung. Some I afterwards saw sold at the *Nicobars* in the *East Indies*, was of lighter colour, and very hard, neither had that any smell, and I suppose was also a cheat. Mr. Hill, a surgeon, once shewed me a piece of ambergris, and related to me, that one Mr. Benjamin Barker, a man I have been long well acquainted with, and know to be a very sober and credible person, told this Mr. Hill, that being in the *Bay of Honduras*, he found in a sandy bay upon the shore of an Island, a lump of ambergris so large, that when carried to *Jamaica*, it was found to weigh upwards of 100 *lbs*. When he found it, it lay dry above the mark of the sea at high water, and in it were a great multitude of beetles. It was of a dusky colour, towards black, about the hardness of mellow cheese, and of a very fragrant smell. What Mr. Hill shewed me was some of it, which Mr. Barker had given him\*.’

There were wild-fowl at *Sal*; and Flamingos, of which, and their manner of building their nests, Dampier has given a description. The flesh of the Flamingo is lean and black, yet good

CHAP. 12.

1683.

September.

Cape  
de Verde  
Islands.

Ambergris.

The  
Flamingo.

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\* Dampier, Vol. I. p. 73.

CHAP. 12.

1683.

Cape  
de Verde  
Islands.

good meat, 'tasting neither fishy nor any way unsavory. A  
' dish of Flamingos' tongues is fit for a Prince's table: they are  
' large, and have a knob of fat at the root which is an excellent  
' bit. When many of them stand together, at a distance they  
' appear like a brick wall; for their feathers are of the colour  
' of new red brick, and, except when feeding, they commonly  
' stand upright, exactly in a row close by each other.'

From the Isle of *Sal* they went to other of the *Cape de Verde Islands*. At *St. Nicholas* they watered the ship by digging wells, and at *Mayo* they procured some provisions. They afterwards sailed to the Island *St. Jago*, but a Dutch ship was lying at anchor in *Port Praya*, which fired her guns at them as soon as they came within reach of shot, and the Buccaneers thought it prudent to stand out again to sea.

November.

Coast of  
Guinea.

They next sailed to the coast of *Guinea*, which they made in the beginning of November, near *Sierra Leone*. A large ship was at anchor in the road, which proved to be a Dane. On sight of her, and all the time they were standing into the road, all the Buccaneer crew, except a few men to manage the sails, kept under deck; which gave their ship the appearance of being a weakly manned merchant-vessel. When they drew near the Danish ship, which they did with intention to board her, the Buccaneer Commander, to prevent suspicion, gave direction in a loud voice to the steersman to put the helm one way; and, according to the plan preconcerted, the steersman put it the contrary, so that their vessel seemed to fall on board the Dane through mistake. By this stratagem, they surprised, and, with the loss of five men, became masters of a ship mounting 36 guns, which was victualled and stored for a long voyage. This achievement is related circumstantially in Cowley's manuscript Journal\*; but in his published account he only

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\* In the Sloane Collection, *Brit. Mus.*

only says, 'near Cape *Sierra Leone*, we alighted on a new ship  
' of 40 guns, which we boarded and carried her away.'

CHAP. 12.

1683.

They went with their prize to a river South of the *Sierra Leone*, called the *Sherborough*, to which they were safely piloted through channels among shoals, by one of the crew who had been there before. At the River *Sherborough* there was then an English factory, but distant from where they anchored. Near them was a large town inhabited by negroes, who traded freely, selling them rice, fowls, plantains, sugar-canes, palm-wine, and honey. The town was skreened from shipping by a grove of trees.

November.

Coast of  
Guinea.Sherborough  
River.

The Buccaneers embarked here all in their new ship, and named her the *Batchelor's Delight*. Their old ship they burnt, 'that she might tell no tales,' and set their prisoners on shore, to shift as well as they could for themselves.

They sailed from the coast of *Guinea* in the middle of November, directing their course across the *Atlantic* towards the *Strait of Magalhanes*. On January the 28th, 1684, they had sight of the Northernmost of the Islands discovered by Captain John Davis in 1592, (since, among other appellations, called the *Sebald de Weert Islands*.) From the circumstance of their falling in with this land, originated the extraordinary report of an Island being discovered in the *Southern Atlantic Ocean* in lat. 47° S, and by Cowley named *Pepys Island*; which was long believed to exist, and has been sought after by navigators of different European nations, even within our own time. The following are the particulars which caused so great a deception.

1684.

January.  
John Davis's  
Islands.

Cowley says, in his manuscript Journal, 'January 1683:  
' This month we were in latitude 47° 40', where we espied an  
' Island bearing West of us, and bore away for it, but being too  
' late we lay by all night. The Island seemed very pleasant to  
' the eye, with many woods. I may say the whole Island was

History  
of the  
Report of a  
Discovery  
named  
Pepys  
Island.

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T

' woods,

CHAP. 12.

1684.

Of the  
Report  
concerning  
Pepys  
Island.

‘ woods, there being a rock above water to the Eastward of it  
 ‘ with innumerable fowls. I sailed along that Island to the  
 ‘ Southward, and about the SW side of the Island there seemed  
 ‘ to me to be a good place for ships to ride. The wind blew  
 ‘ fresh, and they would not put the boat out. Sailing a little  
 ‘ further, having 26 and 27 fathoms water, we came to a place  
 ‘ where we saw the weeds ride, and found only seven fathoms  
 ‘ water and all rocky ground, therefore we put the ship about:  
 ‘ but the harbour seemed a good place for ships to ride in.  
 ‘ There seemed to me harbour for 500 sail of shipping, the  
 ‘ going in but narrow, and the North side of the entrance  
 ‘ shallow that I could see: but I think there is water enough  
 ‘ on the South side. I would have had them stand upon a  
 ‘ wind all night; but they told me they did not come out to go  
 ‘ upon discovery. We saw likewise another Island by this,  
 ‘ which made me to think them the *Sibble D'wards*\*.’

The latitude given by Cowley is to be attributed to his ignorance, and to this part of his narrative being composed from memory, which he acknowledges, though it is not so stated in the printed Narrative. His describing the land to be covered with wood, is sufficiently accounted for by the appearance it makes at a distance, which in the same manner has deceived other voyagers. Pernety, in his Introduction to M. de Bougainville's Voyage to the *Malouines* (by which name the French Voyagers have chosen to call *John Davis's Islands*) says, ‘ As to  
 ‘ wood, we were deceived by appearances in running along the  
 ‘ coast of the *Malouines*: we thought we saw some, but on  
 ‘ landing, these appearances were discovered to be only tall bul-  
 ‘ rushes with large flat leaves, such as are called corn flags†.’

The Editor of Cowley's Journal, William Hack, might possibly

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\* Cowley's MS. Journal. Sloane Collection, No. 54.

† See also Pernety's Journal, p. 179, English translation.

possibly believe from the latitude mentioned by Cowley, that the land seen by him was a new discovery. To give it a less doubtful appearance, he dropped the 40 minutes of latitude, and also Cowley's conjecture that the land was the *Sebald de Weerts*; and with this falsification of the Journal, he took occasion to compliment the Honourable Mr. Pepys, who was then Secretary of the Admiralty, by putting his name to the land, giving as Cowley's words, 'In the latitude of 47°, we saw land, the same being an Island not before known. I gave it the name of *Pepys Island*.' Hack embellished this account with a drawing of *Pepys Island*, in which is introduced an *Admiralty Bay*, and *Secretary's Point*.

CHAP. 19.  
1684.  
Of the  
Report  
concerning  
Pepys  
Island.

The account which Dampier has given of their falling in with this land, would have cleared up the whole matter, but for a circumstance which is far more extraordinary than any yet mentioned, which is, that it long escaped notice, and seems never to have been generally understood, that Dampier and Cowley were at this time in the same ship, and their voyage thus far the same.

Dampier says, 'January the 28th (1683-4) we made the *Sebald de Weerts*. They are three rocky barren Islands without any tree, only some bushes growing on them. The two Northernmost lie in 51° S, the other in 51° 20' S. We could not come near the two Northern Islands, but we came close by the Southern; but we could not obtain soundings till within two cables' length of the shore, and there found the bottom to be foul rocky ground\*.' In consequence of the inattention, or oversight, in not perceiving that Dampier and Cowley were speaking of the same land, Hack's ingenious adulation of the Secretary of the Admiralty flourished a full century undetected; a *Pepys Island* being all the time admitted in the charts.

Near

\* Dampier's Manuscript Journal, No. 3236, Sloane Collection, British Museum.

CHAP. 12. . Near these Islands the variation was observed  $23^{\circ} 10'$  Easterly.

1684.

January.

Shoals of  
small red  
Lobsters.

They passed through great shoals of small red lobsters, 'no bigger than the top of a man's little finger, yet all their claws, both great and small, were like a lobster. I never saw,' says Dampier, 'any of this sort of fish naturally red, except here.'

February.

The winds blew hard from the Westward, and they could not fetch the *Strait of Magalhanes*. On February the 6th, they were at the entrance of *Strait le Maire*, when it fell calm, and a strong tide set out of the *Strait* Northward, which made a short irregular sea, as in a race, or place where two tides meet, and broke over the waist of the ship, 'which was tossed about like an egg-shell.' A breeze springing up from the WNW, they bore away Eastward, and passed round the East end of *Staten Island*; after which they saw no other land till they came into the *South Sea*. They had much rain, and took advantage of it to fill 23 casks with fresh water.

They sail  
by the  
East end  
of Staten  
Island;  
and enter  
the  
South Sea.

March.

March the 17th, they were in latitude  $36^{\circ}$  S, standing for the *Island Juan Fernandez*. Variation  $8^{\circ}$  East.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Buccaneers under John Cook arrive at Juan Fernandez. Account of William, a Mosquito Indian, who had lived there three years. They sail to the Galapagos Islands; thence to the Coast of New Spain. John Cook dies. Edward Davis chosen Commander.*

CONTINUING their course for *Juan Fernandez*, on the 19th in the morning, a strange ship was seen to the Southward, standing after them under all her sail. The Buccaneers were in hopes she would prove to be a Spaniard, and brought to, to wait her coming up. The people on board the strange vessel entertained similar expectations, for they also were English, and were come to the *South Sea* to pick up what they could. This ship was named the *Nicholas*; her Commander John Eaton; she fitted out in the River *Thames* under pretence of a trading, but in reality with the intention of making a piratical voyage.

CHAP. 13.

1684.

March

19th.

The two ships soon joined, and on its being found that they had come on the same errand to the *South Sea*, Cook and Eaton and their men agreed to keep company together.

Joined by  
the  
*Nicholas* of  
London,  
John Eaton  
Commander.

It was learnt from Eaton that another English ship, named the *Cygnet*, commanded by a Captain Swan, had sailed from *London* for the *South Sea*; but fitted out by reputable merchants, and provided with a cargo for a trading voyage, having a licence from the Duke of York, then Lord High Admiral of *England*. The *Cygnet* and the *Nicholas* had met at the entrance of the *Strait of Magalhanes*, and they entered the *South Sea* in company, but had since been separated by bad weather.

March



CHAP. 13.

1684.

March 22d.  
At Juan  
Fernandez.William  
the  
Mosquito  
Indian.

March the 22d, the Batchelor's Delight and the Nicholas came in sight of the Island *Juan Fernandez*.

The reader may remember that when the Buccaneers under Watling were at *Juan Fernandez* in January 1681, the appearance of three Spanish ships made them quit the Island in great haste, and they left behind a Mosquito Indian named William, who was in the woods hunting for goats. Several of the Buccaneers who were then with Watling were now with Cook, and, eager to discover if any traces could be found which would enable them to conjecture what was become of their former companion, but with small hope of finding him still here, as soon as they were near enough for a boat to be sent from the ship, they hastened to the shore. Dampier was in this first boat, as was also a Mosquito Indian named Robin; and as they drew near the land, they had the satisfaction to see William at the sea-side waiting to receive them. Dampier has given the following affecting account of their meeting. 'Robin, his countryman, was the first who leaped ashore from the boats, and running to his brother *Moskito* man, threw himself flat on his face at his feet, who helping him up and embracing him, fell flat with his face on the ground at Robin's feet, and was by him taken up also. We stood with pleasure to behold the surprise, tenderness, and solemnity of this interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides: and when their ceremonies were over, we also that stood gazing at them, drew near, each of us embracing him we had found here, who was overjoyed to see so many of his old friends, come hither as he thought purposely to fetch him. He was named Will, as the other was Robin; which names were given them by the English, for they have no names among themselves, and they take it as a favour to be named by us, and will complain if we do not appoint them some name when they are with us.'

William

William had lived in solitude on *Juan Fernandez* above three years. The Spaniards knew of his being on the Island, and Spanish ships had stopped there, the people belonging to which had made keen search after him ; but he kept himself concealed, and they could never discover his retreat. At the time Watling sailed from the Island, he had a musket, a knife, a small horn of powder, and a few shot. ‘ When his ammunition was expended, he contrived by notching his knife, to saw the barrel of his gun into small pieces, wherewith he made harpoons, lances, hooks, and a long knife, heating the pieces of iron first in the fire, and then hammering them out as he pleased with stones. This may seem strange to those not acquainted with the sagacity of the Indians ; but it is no more than what the Moskito men were accustomed to in their own country.’ He had worn out the clothes with which he landed, and was no otherwise clad than with a skin about his waist. He made fishing lines of the skins of seals cut into thongs. ‘ He had built himself a hut, half a mile from the sea-shore, which he lined with goats’ skins, and slept on his couch or *barbecu* of sticks raised about two feet from the ground, and spread with goats’ skins.’ He saw the two ships commanded by Cook and Eaton the day before they anchored, and from their manœuvring believing them to be English, he killed three goats, which he drest with vegetables ; thus preparing a treat for his friends on their landing ; and there has seldom been a more fair and joyful occasion for festivity.

Dampier reckoned two bays in *Juan Fernandez* proper for ships to anchor in ; ‘ both at the East end, and in each there is a rivulet of good fresh water.’ He mentions (it may be supposed on the authority of Spanish information) that this Island was stocked with goats by Juan Fernandez, its discoverer, who, in a second voyage to it, landed three or four of these animals, and

CHAP. 13.

1684.

March.

Juan  
Fernandez.Stocked  
with Goats  
by its  
Discoverer.

CHAP. 13. and they quickly multiplied. Also, that Juan Fernandez had  
 1684. formed a plan of settling here, if he could have obtained a  
 March. patent or royal grant of the Island ; which was refused him \*.

Juan Fernandez. The Buccaneers found here a good supply of provisions in  
 goats, wild vegetables, seals, sea-lions, and fish. Dampier says,  
 ‘ the seals at *Juan Fernandez* are as big as calves, and have a  
 ‘ fine thick short fur, the like I have not taken notice of any  
 ‘ where but in these seas. The teeth of the sea-lion are the  
 ‘ bigness of a man’s thumb : in Captain Sharp’s time, some of  
 ‘ the Buccaneers made dice of them. Both the sea-lion and the  
 ‘ seal eat fish, which I believe is their common food.’

April. April the 8th, the Batchelor’s Delight and Nicholas sailed  
 Coast of from *Juan Fernandez* for the American coast, which they made  
 Peru. in latitude 24° S, and sailed Northward, keeping sight of the  
 May. land, but at a good distance. On May the 3d, in latitude  
 9° 40’ S, they took a Spanish ship laden with timber.

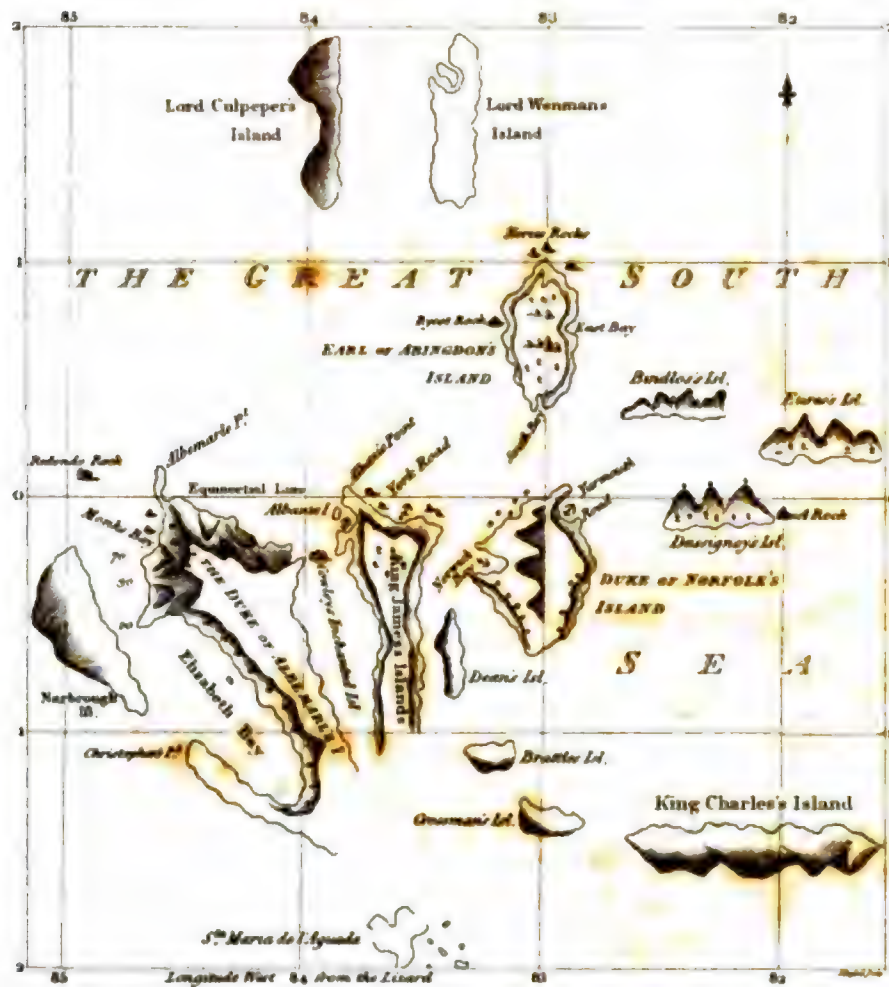
Appearance of the Andes. Dampier remarks that ‘ from the latitude of 24° S to 17°, and  
 ‘ from 14° to 10° S, the land within the coast is of a prodigious  
 ‘ height. It lies generally in ridges parallel to the shore, one  
 ‘ within another, each surpassing the other in height, those  
 ‘ inland being the highest. They always appear blue when  
 ‘ seen from sea, and are seldom obscured by clouds or fogs.  
 ‘ These mountains far surpass the *Peak of Teneriffe*, or the land  
 ‘ of *Santa Martha*.’

Islands Lobos de la Mar. On the 9th, they anchored at the Islands *Lobos de la Mar*.  
 ‘ This *Lobos* consists of two little Islands each about a mile  
 ‘ round, of indifferent height, with a channel between fit only  
 ‘ for boats. Several rocks lie on the North side of the Islands.  
 ‘ There is a small cove, or sandy bay, sheltered from the winds,  
 ‘ at the West end of the Easternmost Island, where ships may  
 ‘ careen.

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\* The writer of Commodore Anson’s Voyage informs us that Juan Fernandez resided some time on the Island, and afterwards abandoned it.

GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS, Described by Ambrose Cowley in 1684.



N.B. The Island Santa Maria de la Aguada, according to its situation from Albemarle Island, is added from the Chart published by M. Arrowsmith.



‘ careen. There is good riding between the Easternmost Island  
 ‘ and the rocks, in 10, 12, or 14 fathoms; for the wind is  
 ‘ commonly at S, or SSE, and the Easternmost Island lying  
 ‘ East and West, shelters that road. Both the Islands are  
 ‘ barren, without fresh water, tree, shrub, grass, or herb; but  
 ‘ sea-fowls, seals, and sea-lions were here in multitudes \*.’

CHAP. 13.

1684.

May.

On a review of their strength, they mustered in the two ships 108 men fit for service, besides their sick. They remained at the *Lobos de la Mar* Isles till the 17th, when three vessels coming in sight, they took up their anchors and gave chase. They captured all the three, which were laden with provisions, principally flour, and bound for *Panama*. They learnt from the prisoners that the English ship *Cygnets* had been at *Baldivia*, and that the Viceroy on information of strange ships having entered the *South Sea*, had ordered treasure which had been shipped for *Panama* to be re-landed. The Buccaneers, finding they were expected on the coast, determined to go with their prizes first to the *Galapagos Islands*, and afterwards to the coast of *New Spain*.

They sail  
to the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

They arrived in sight of the *Galapagos* on the 31st; but were not enough to the Southward to fetch the Southern Islands, the wind being from SbE, which Dampier remarks is the common trade-wind in this part of the *Pacific*. Many instances occur in *South Sea* navigations which shew the disadvantage of not keeping well to the South in going to the *Galapagos*.

The two ships anchored near the North East part of one of the Easternmost Islands, in 16 fathoms, the bottom white hard sand, a mile distant from the shore.

Duke of  
Norfolk's  
Island.

It was during this visit of the Buccaneers to the *Galapagos*, that the chart of these Islands which was published with  
 Cowley's

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\* *Dampier's Voyages*, Vol. I, Chap. 5.

CHAP. 13.

1684.

At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

Cowley's voyage was made. Considering the small opportunity for surveying which was afforded by their track, it may be reckoned a good chart, and has the merit both of being the earliest survey known of these Islands, and of having continued in use to this day; the latest charts we have of the *Galapagos* being founded upon this original, and (setting aside the additions) varying little from it in the general outlines.

Where Cook and Eaton first anchored, appears to be the *Duke of Norfolk's Island* of Cowley's chart. They found there sea turtle and land turtle, but could stop only one night, on account of two of their prizes, which being deeply laden had fallen too far to leeward to fetch the same anchorage.

June.

King James's  
Island.

The day following, they sailed on to the next Island Westward (marked *King James's Island* in the chart) and anchored at its North end, a quarter of a mile distant from the shore, in 15 fathoms. Dampier observed the latitude of the North part of this second Island,  $0^{\circ} 28' N$ , which is considerably more North than it is placed in Cowley's chart. The riding here was very uncertain, 'the bottom being so steep that if an anchor starts, it never holds again.'

Mistake  
made by the  
Editor of  
Dampier's  
Voyages.

An error has been committed in the printed Narrative of Dampier, which it may be useful to notice. It is there said, 'The Island at which we first anchored hath water on the North end, falling down in a stream from high steep rocks upon the sandy bay, where it may be taken up.' Concerning so essential an article to mariners as fresh water, no information can be too minute to deserve attention. In the manuscript Journal, Dampier says of the first Island at which they anchored, 'we found there the largest land turtle I ever saw; but the Island is rocky and barren, without wood or water.' At the next Island at which they anchored, both Dampier and Cowley mention fresh water being found. Cowley says, 'this Bay

Concerning  
Fresh  
Water at  
King James's  
Island.

‘ Bay I called *Albany Bay*, and another place *York Road*.  
 ‘ Here is excellent sweet water.’ Dampier also in the margin  
 of his written Journal where the second anchorage is mentioned,  
 has inserted the note following: ‘ At the North end of the  
 ‘ Island we saw water running down from the rocks.’ The  
 editor or corrector of the press has mistakenly applied this to  
 the first anchorage.

CHAP. 13.

1684.

June.

At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

Cowley, after assigning names to the different Islands, adds,  
 ‘ We could find no good water on any of these places, save on  
 ‘ the *Duke of York’s* [*i. e.* *King James’s*] *Island*. But at the  
 ‘ North end of *Albemarle Island* there were green leaves of a  
 ‘ thick substance which we chewed to quench our thirst: and  
 ‘ there were abundance of fowls in this Island which could not  
 ‘ live without water, though we could not find it\*.’

Herbage on  
the North  
end of  
Albemarle  
Island.

Animal food was furnished by the *Galapagos Islands* in profusion, and of the most delicate kind; of vegetables nothing of use was found except the mammee, the leaves just noticed and berries. The name *Galapagos* which has been assigned to these Islands, signifies Turtle in the Spanish language, and was given to them on account of the great numbers of those animals, both of the sea and land kind, found there. Guanoes, an amphibious animal well known in the *West Indies*, fish, flamingoes, and turtle-doves so tame that they would alight upon the men’s

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\* The latter part of the above extract is from Cowley’s Manuscript.—Captain Colnet when at the *Galapagos* made a similar remark. He says, ‘ I was perplexed to form a conjecture how the small birds which appeared to remain in one spot, supported themselves without water; but some of our men informed me that as they were reposing beneath a prickly pear-tree, they observed an old bird in the act of supplying three young ones with drink, by squeezing the berry of a tree into their mouths. It was about the size of a pea, and contained a watery juice of an acid and not unpleasant taste. The bark of the tree yields moisture, and being eaten allays the thirst. The land tortoise gnaw and suck it. The leaf of this tree is like that of the bay-tree, the fruit grows like cherries; the juice of the bark dyes the flesh of a deep purple.’ *Colnet’s Voyage to the South Sea*, p. 53.



CHAP. 13. men's heads, were all in great abundance; and convenient for  
 1684. preserving meat, salt was plentiful at the *Galapagos*. Some  
 June. green snakes were the only other animals seen there.

At the  
*Galapagos*  
 Islands.  
 Land  
 Turtle.

The full-grown land turtle were from 150 to 200 *lbs.* in weight. Dampier says, 'so sweet that no pullet can eat more pleasantly. They are very fat; the oil saved from them was kept in jars, and used instead of butter to eat with dough-boys or dumplings.'—'We lay here feeding sometimes on land turtle, sometimes on sea turtle, there being plenty of either sort; but the land turtle, as they exceed in sweetness, so do they in numbers: it is incredible to report how numerous they are.'

Sea  
 Turtle.

The sea turtle at the *Galapagos* are of the larger kind of those called the Green Turtle. Dampier thought their flesh not so good as the green turtle of the *West Indies*.

Dampier describes the *Galapagos Isles* to be generally of good height: 'four or five of the Easternmost Islands are rocky, hilly, and barren, producing neither tree, herb, nor grass; but only a green prickly shrub that grows 10 or 12 feet high, as big as a man's leg, and is full of sharp prickles in thick rows from top to bottom, without leaf or fruit. In some places by the sea side grow bushes of Burton wood (a sort of wood which grows in the *West Indies*) which is good firing. Some of the Westernmost of these Islands are nine or ten leagues long, have fertile land with mold deep and black; and these produce trees of various kinds, some of great and tall bodies, especially the Mammee. The heat is not so violent here as in many other places under the Equator. The time of year for the rains, is in November, December, and January.'

Mammee  
 Tree.

At *Albany Bay*, and at other of the Islands, the Buccaneers built storehouses, in which they lodged 5000 packs of their prize flour, and a quantity of sweetmeats, to remain as a reserved store to which they might have recourse on any future occasion. Part of this provision was landed at the Islands

Islands Northward of *King James's Island*, to which they went in search of fresh water, but did not find any. They endeavoured to sail back to the *Duke of York's Island*, Cowley says, 'there to have watered,' but a current setting Northward prevented them.

CHAP. 13.

1684.

June.

At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

12th.

They sail  
from the  
Galapagos.

On June the 12th, they sailed from the *Galapagos Islands* for the Island *Cocos*, where they proposed to water. The wind at this time was South; but they expected they should find, as they went Northward, the general trade-wind blowing from the East; and in that persuasion they steered more Easterly than the line of direction in which *Cocos* lay from them, imagining that when they came to the latitude of the Island, they would have to bear down upon it before the wind. Contrary however to this expectation, as they advanced Northward they found the wind more Westerly, till it settled at SWbS, and they got so far Eastward, that they crossed the parallel of *Cocos* without being able to come in sight of it.

Missing *Cocos*, they sailed on Northward for the coast of *New Spain*. In the beginning of July, they made the West Cape of the *Gulf of Nicoya*. 'This Cape is about the height of *Beachy Head*, and was named *Blanco*, on account of two white rocks lying about half a mile from it, which to those who are far off at sea, appear as part of the mainland; but on coming nearer, they appear like two ships under sail\*.'

July.  
Coast of  
New Spain.  
Cape  
Blanco.

The day on which they made this land, the Buccaneer Commander, John Cook, who had been some time ill, died. Edward Davis, the Quarter-Master, was unanimously elected by the company to succeed in the command.

John Cook,  
Buccaneer  
Commander,  
dies.Edward Davis  
chosen  
Commander.

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\* *Dampier*, Vol. I. p. 112.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Edward Davis Commander. On the coast of New Spain and Peru. Alcatrane, a bituminous earth. Davis is joined by other Buccaneers. Eaton sails to the East Indies. Guayaquil attempted. Rivers of St. Jago, and Tomaco. In the Bay of Panama. Arrivals of numerous parties of Buccaneers across the Isthmus from the West Indies.*

CHAP. 14.

1684.

July.

Coast of  
New Spain.Caldera  
Bay.

DAMPIER describes the coast of *New Spain* immediately westward of the *Cape Blanco* last mentioned, to fall in to the NE about four leagues, making a small bay, which is by the Spaniards called *Caldera* \*. Within the entrance of this bay, a league from *Cape Blanco*, was a small brook of very good water running into the sea. The land here is low, making a saddle between two small hills. The ships anchored near the brook, in good depth, on a bottom of clean hard sand; and at this place, their deceased Commander was taken on shore and buried.

The country appeared thin of inhabitants, and the few seen were shy of coming near strangers. Two Indians however were caught. Some cattle were seen grazing near the shore, at a *Beef Estancian* or Farm, three miles distant from where the ships lay. Two boats were sent thither to bring cattle, having with them one of the Indians for a guide. They arrived at the farm towards evening, and some of the Buccaneers proposed that they should remain quiet till daylight next morning, when they might surround the cattle and drive a number of them into

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\* *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 5. This description does not agree with the Spanish Charts; but no complete regular survey appears yet to have been made of the Coast of *New Spain*.

into a pen or inclosure; others of the party disliked this plan, and one of the boats returned to the ships. Twelve men, with the other boat, remained, who hauled their boat dry up on the beach, and went and took their lodgings for the night by the farm. When the morning arrived, they found the people of the country had collected, and saw about 40 armed men preparing to attack them. The Buccaneers hastened as speedily as they could to the sea-side where they had left their boat, and found her in flames. 'The Spaniards now thought they had them secure, and some called to them to ask if they would be pleased to walk to their plantations; to which never a word was answered.' Fortunately for the Buccaneers, a rock appeared just above water at some distance from the shore, and the way to it being fordable, they waded thither. This served as a place of protection against the enemy, 'who only now and then whistled a shot among them.' It was at about half ebb tide when they took to the rock for refuge; on the return of the flood, the rock became gradually covered. They had been in this situation seven hours, when a boat arrived, sent from the ships in search of them. The rise and fall of the tide here was eight feet perpendicular, and the tide was still rising at the time the boat came to their relief; so that their peril from the sea when on the rock was not less than it had been from the Spaniards when they were on shore.

From *Caldera Bay*, they sailed for *Ria-lexa*. The coast near *Ria-lexa* is rendered remarkable by a high peaked mountain called *Volcan Viejo* (the Old Volcano.) 'When the mountain bears NE, ships may steer directly in for it, which course will bring them to the harbour. Those that go thither must take the sea wind, which is from the SSW, for there is no going in with the land wind. The harbour is made by a low flat Island about a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, which lies

CHAP. 14.

1684.

July.

Coast of  
New Spain.Volcan  
Viejo.Ria-lexa  
Harbour.

CHAP. 24. ' lies about a mile and a half from the main-land. There is a  
 1684. ' channel at each end of the Island: the West channel is the  
 July. ' widest and safest, yet at the NW point of the Island there is  
 Coast of ' a shoal of which ships must take heed, and when past the  
 New Spain. ' shoal must keep close to the Island on account of a sandy  
 ' point which strikes over from the main-land. This harbour is  
 ' capable of receiving 200 sail of ships. The best riding is near  
 ' the main-land, where the depth is seven or eight fathoms,  
 ' clean hard sand. Two creeks lead up to the town of *Ria-lera*,  
 ' which is two leagues distant from the harbour\*.'

The Spaniards had erected breastworks and made other preparation in expectation of such a visit as the present. The Buccaneers therefore changed their intention, which had been to attack the town; and sailed on for the *Gulf of Amapalla*.

Bay of ' The Bay or Gulf of *Amapalla* runs eight or ten leagues into  
 Amapalla. ' the country. On the South side of its entrance is *Point Casivina*, in latitude  $12^{\circ} 40' N$ ; and on the NW side is *Mount San Miguel*. There are many Islands in this Gulf, all low except two, named *Amapalla* and *Mangera*, which are both high land. These are two miles asunder, and between them is the best channel into the Gulf†.'

The ships sailed into the *Gulf* through the channel between *Point Casivina* and the Island *Mangera*. Davis went with two canoes before the ships, and landed at a village on the Island *Mangera*. The inhabitants kept at a distance, but a Spanish Friar and some Indians were taken, from whom the Buccaneers learnt that there were two Indian towns or villages on the *Island Amapalla*; upon which information they hastened to their canoes, and made for that Island. On coming near, some among the inhabitants called out to demand who they were, and what they came for. Davis answered by an interpreter, that  
 he

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\* *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 5.

† *Ibid.*

he and his men were Biscayners sent by the King of *Spain* to clear the sea of Pirates ; and that their business in *Amapalla Bay*, was to careen. No other Spaniard than the Padre dwelt among these Indians, and only one among the Indians could speak the Spanish language, who served as a kind of Secretary to the Padre. The account the Buccaneers gave of themselves satisfied the natives, and the Secretary said they were welcome. The principal town or village of the Island *Amapalla* stood on the top of a hill, and Davis and his men, with the Friar at their head, marched thither.

CHAP. 14.  
1684.  
July.  
Coast of  
New Spain.  
In  
*Amapalla*  
Bay.

At each of the towns on *Amapalla*, and also on *Mangera*, was a handsome built church. The Spanish Padre officiated at all three, and gave religious instruction to the natives in their own language. The Islands were within the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Town of *San Miguel*, which was at the foot of the *Mount*. ‘I observed,’ says Dampier, ‘in all the Indian towns under the Spanish Government, that the Images of the Virgin Mary, and of other Saints with which all their churches are filled, are painted of an Indian complexion, and partly in an Indian dress : but in the towns which are inhabited chiefly by Spaniards, the Saints conform to the Spanish garb and complexion.’

The ships anchored near the East side of the *Island Amapalla*, which is the largest of the Islands, in 10 fathoms depth, clean hard sand. On other Islands in the Bay were plantations of maize, with cattle, fowls, plantains, and abundance of a plum-tree common in *Jamaica*, the fruit of which Dampier calls the large hog plum. This fruit is oval, with a large stone and little substance about it ; pleasant enough in taste, but he says he never saw one of these plums ripe that had not a maggot or two in it.

The Buccaneers helped themselves to cattle from an Island in the Bay which was largely stocked, and which they were

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informed

CHAP. 14. informed belonged to a Nunnery. 'The natives willingly assisted  
 1684. them to take the cattle, and were content on receiving small  
 Coast of presents for their labour. 'The Buccaneers had no other service  
 New Spain. to desire of these natives, and therefore it must have been from  
 In levity and an ambition to give a specimen of their vocation,  
 Amapalla more than for any advantage expected, that they planned to  
 Bay. take the opportunity when the inhabitants should be assembled  
 in their church, to shut the church doors upon them, the Buc-  
 caneers themselves say, 'to let the Indians know who we  
 ' were, and to make a bargain with them.' In executing this  
 project, one of the buccaneers being impatient at the leisurely  
 movements of the inhabitants, pushed one of them rather  
 rudely, to hasten him into the church; but the contrary effect  
 was produced, for the native being frightened, ran away, and  
 all the rest taking alarm 'sprang out of the church like deer.'  
 As they fled, some of Davis's men fired at them as at an  
 enemy, and among other injury committed, the Indian Secre-  
 tary was killed.

Cowley relates their exploits here very briefly, but in the  
 style of an accomplished Gazette writer. He says, 'We set  
 ' sail from *Realejo* to the *Gulf of St. Miguel*, where we took  
 ' two Islands; one was inhabited by Indians, and the other  
 ' was well stored with cattle.'

September. Davis and Eaton here broke off consortship. The cause of  
 Davis and their separating was an unreasonable claim of Davis's crew,  
 Eaton part who having the stouter and better ship, would not agree that  
 Company. Eaton's men should share equally with themselves in the prizes  
 taken. Cowley at this time quitted Davis's ship, and entered  
 with Eaton, who sailed from the *Bay of Amapalla* for the Peru-  
 vian coast. Davis also sailed the same way on the day following  
 (September the 3d), first releasing the Priest of *Amapalla*; and  
 with a feeling of remorse something foreign to his profession,  
 by way of atonement to the inhabitants for the annoyance and  
 mischief

mischief they had sustained from the Buccaneers, he left them one of the prize vessels, with half a cargo of flour.

CHAP. 14.

1684.

Davis sailed out of the Gulf by the passage between the Islands *Amapalla* and *Mangera*. In the navigation towards the coast of *Peru*, they had the wind from the NNW and West, except during tornadoes, of which they had one or more every day, and whilst they lasted the wind generally blew from the South East; but as soon as they were over, the wind settled again in the NW. Tornadoes are common near the *Bay of Panama* from June to November, and at this time were accompanied with much thunder, lightning, and rain.

Tornadoes  
near the  
Coast of  
New Spain.

When they came to *Cape San Francisco*, they found settled fair weather, and the wind at South. On the 20th, they anchored by the East side of the *Island Plata*. The 21st, Eaton's ship anchored near them. Eaton had been at the *Island Cocos*, and had lodged on shore there 200 packages of flour.

Cape San  
Francisco.

According to Eaton's description, *Cocos Island* is encompassed with rocks, 'which make it almost inaccessible except at the ' NE end, where there is a small but secure harbour; and a fine ' brook of fresh water runs there into the sea. The middle of ' the Island is pretty high, and destitute of trees, but looks ' green and pleasant with an herb by the Spaniards called ' *Gramadiel*. All round the Island by the sea, the land is ' low, and there cocoa-nut trees grow in great groves.'

Eaton's  
Description  
of Cocos  
Island.

At *La Plata* they found only one small run of fresh water, which was on the East side of the Island, and trickled slowly down from the rocks. The Spaniards had recently destroyed the goats here, that they might not serve as provision for the pirates. Small sea turtle however were plentiful, as were men-of-war birds and boobies. The tide was remarked to run strong at this part of the coast, the flood to the South.

Coast of  
Peru.

Eaton and his crew would willingly have joined company again with Davis, but Davis's men persisted in their unsociable

claim



CHAP. 14. claim to larger shares : the two ships therefore, though designing alike to cruise on the coast of *Peru*, sailed singly and separately, Eaton on the 22d, and Davis on the day following.

1684.  
September.  
Coast of  
Peru.  
Point  
S<sup>a</sup> Elena.

Davis went to *Point S<sup>a</sup> Elena*. On its West side is deep water and no anchorage. In the bay on the North side of the Point is good anchorage, and about a mile within the Point was a small Indian village, the inhabitants of which carried on a trade with pitch, and salt made there. The *Point S<sup>a</sup> Elena* is tolerably high, and overgrown with thistles ; but the land near it is sandy, low, and in parts overflowed, without tree or grass, and without fresh water ; but water-melons grew there, large and very sweet. When the inhabitants of the village wanted fresh water, they were obliged to fetch it from a river called the *Colanche*, which is at the innermost part of the bay, four leagues distant from their habitations. The buccaneers landed, and took some natives prisoners. A small bark was lying in the bay at anchor, the crew of which set fire to and abandoned her ; but the buccaneers boarded her in time to extinguish the fire. A general order had been given by the Viceroy of *Peru* to all ship-masters, that if they should be in danger of being taken by pirates, they should set fire to their vessels and betake themselves to their boats.

Algastrane, a  
bituminous  
Earth.

The pitch, which was the principal commodity produced at *S<sup>a</sup> Elena*, was supplied from a hot spring, of which Dampier gives the following account. ‘ Not far from the Indian village, and about five paces within high-water mark, a bituminous matter boils out of a little hole in the earth. It is like thin tar ; the Spaniards call it *Algastrane*. By much boiling, it becomes hard like pitch, and is used by the Spaniards instead of pitch. It boils up most at high water, and the inhabitants save it in jars \*.’

A report was current here among the Spaniards, ‘ that many years

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\* *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 6.

‘ years before, a rich Spanish ship was driven ashore at *Point* CHAP. 14.  
 ‘ *S<sup>a</sup> Elena*, for want of wind to work her; that immediately 1684.  
 ‘ after she struck, she heeled off to seaward, and sunk in seven September.  
 ‘ or eight fathoms water; and that no one ever attempted to A rich Ship  
 ‘ fish for her, because there falls in here a great high sea \*.’ formerly  
 wrecked on  
 Point  
*S<sup>a</sup> Elena*.  
*Manta*.

Davis landed at a village named *Manta*, on the main-land about three leagues Eastward of *Cape San Lorenzo*, and due North of a high conical mountain called *Monte Christo*. The village was on a small ascent, and between it and the sea was a spring of good water. ‘ About a mile and a half from the shore, ‘ right opposite the village, is a rock which is very dangerous, ‘ because it never appears above water, neither does the sea ‘ break upon it. A mile within the rock is good anchorage in ‘ six, eight or ten fathoms, hard sand and clear ground. A ‘ mile from the road on the West side is a shoal which runs And Shoal.  
 ‘ out a mile into the sea†.’

The only booty made by landing at *Manta*, was the taking two old women prisoners. From them however, the Buccaneers obtained intelligence that many of their fraternity had lately crossed the *Isthmus* from the *West Indies*, and were at this time on the *South Sea*, without ships, cruising about in canoes; and that it was on this account the Viceroy had given orders for the destruction of the goats at the Island *Plata*.

Whilst Davis and his men, in the *Batchelor's Delight*, were lying at the Island *Plata*, unsettled in their plans by the news they had received, they were, on October the 2d, joined by the *Cygnets*, Captain *Swan*, and by a small bark manned with a crew of buccaneers, both of which anchored in the road. October.  
 Davis is  
 joined by  
 other  
 Buccaneers.

The *Cygnets*, as before noticed, was fitted out from *London* for the purpose of trade. She had put in at *Baldivia*, where  
 The  
*Cygnets*,  
 Captain  
*Swan*.

\* *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 6. To search for this wreck with a view to recover the treasure in her, was one of the objects of an expedition from *England* to the *South Sea*, which was made a few years subsequent to this Buccaneer expedition.

† *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 6.

CHAP. 14. Swan, seeing the Spaniards suspicious of the visits of strangers, gave out that he was bound to the *East Indies*, and that he had endeavoured to go by the *Cape of Good Hope*; but that meeting there with storms and unfavourable winds, and not being able to beat round that *Cape*, he had changed his course and ran for the *Strait of Magalhães*, to sail by the *Pacific Ocean* to *India*. This story was too improbable to gain credit. Instead of finding a market at *Baldivia*, the Spaniards there treated him and his people as enemies, by which he lost two men and had several wounded. He afterwards tried the disposition of the Spaniards to trade with him at other places, both in *Chili* and *Peru*, but no where met encouragement. He proceeded Northward for *New Spain* still with the same view; but near the *Gulf of Nicoya* he fell in with some buccaneers who had come over the *Isthmus* and were in canoes; and his men (Dampier says) forced him to receive them into his ship, and he was afterwards prevailed on to join in their pursuits. Swan had to plead in his excuse, the hostility of the Spaniards towards him at *Baldivia*. These buccaneers with whom Swan associated, had for their commander Peter Harris, a nephew of the Peter Harris who was killed in battle with the Spaniards in the *Bay of Panama*, in 1680, when the Buccaneers were commanded by Sawkins and Coxon. Swan stipulated with them that ten shares of every prize should be set apart for the benefit of his owners, and articles to that purport were drawn up and signed. Swan retained the command of the *Cygnet*, with a crew increased by a number of the new comers, for whose accommodation a large quantity of bulky goods belonging to the merchants was thrown into the sea. Harris with others of the buccaneers established themselves in a small bark they had taken.

On their meeting with Davis, there was much joy and congratulation on all sides. They immediately agreed to keep together,

together, and the separation of Eaton's ship was now much regretted. They were still incommoded in Swan's ship for want of room, therefore (the supercargoes giving consent) whatever part of the cargo any of the crews desired to purchase, it was sold to them upon trust; and more bulky goods were thrown overboard. Iron, of which there was a large quantity, was kept for ballast; and the finer goods, as silks, muslins, stockings, &c. were saved. Whilst they continued at *La Plata*, Davis kept a small bark out cruising, which brought in a ship from *Guayaquil*, laden with timber, the master of which reported that great preparations were making at *Callao* to attack the pirates. This information made a re-union with Eaton more earnestly desired, and a small bark manned with 20 men was dispatched to search along the coast Southward as far as to the *Lobos Isles*, with an invitation to him to join them again. The ships in the mean time followed leisurely in the same direction.

CHAP. 14.  
1684.  
October.  
Coast of  
Peru.  
At Isle  
de la Plata.

On the 30th, they were off the *Cape Blanco* which is between *Payta* and the *Bay of Guayaquil*. Southerly winds prevail along the coast of *Peru* and *Chili* much the greater part of the year; and Dampier remarks of this *Cape Blanco*, that it was reckoned the most difficult to weather of any headland along the coast, the wind generally blowing strong from SSW or SbW, without being altered, as at other parts of the coast, by the land winds. Yet it was held necessary here to beat up close in with the shore, because (according to the accounts of Spanish seamen) 'on standing out to sea, a current is found setting NW, which will carry a ship farther off shore in two hours, than she can run in again in five.'

Cape Blanco,  
near  
Guayaquil;  
difficult to  
weather.

November the 3d, the *Buccaneers* landed at *Payta* without opposition, the town being abandoned to them. They found nothing of value, 'not so much as a meal of victuals being left

November.

CHAP. 14. left them.' The Governor would not pay ransom for the town,  
 1684. though he fed the Buccaneers with hopes till the sixth day,  
 November. when they set it on fire.

Payta  
 burnt.

At most of the towns on the coast of *Peru*, the houses are built with bricks made of earth and straw kneaded together and dried in the sun; many houses have no roof other than mats laid upon rafters, for it never rains, and they endeavour to fence only from the sun. From the want of moisture, great part of the country near the coast will not produce timber, and most of the stone they have, 'is so brittle that any one may rub it into sand with their finger.'

Payta had neither wood nor water, except what was carried thither. The water was procured from a river about two leagues NNE of the town, where was a small Indian village called *Colan*. Dampier says, 'this dry country commences  
 Part of the Peruvian Coast where it never rains. ' Northward about *Cape Blanco* (in about 4° S latitude) whence  
 ' it reaches to latitude 30° S, in which extent they have no  
 ' rain that I could ever observe or hear of.' In the Southern part of this tract however (according to Wafer) they have great dews in the night, by which the vallies are rendered fertile, and are well furnished with vegetables.

Eaton had been at *Payta*, where he burnt a large ship in the road, but did not land. He put on shore there all his prisoners; from which circumstance it was conjectured that he purposed to sail immediately for the *East Indies*; and such proved to be the fact.

The vessel commanded by Harris, sailed badly, and was therefore quitted and burnt. On the 14th, the other Buccaneer vessels, under Davis, anchored near the NE end of *Lobos de Tierra*, in four fathoms depth. They took here penguins, boobies, and seals. On the 19th, they were at *Lobos de la Mar*, where they found a letter left by the bark sent in search of Eaton,

Eaton, which gave information that he had entirely departed from the American coast. The bark had sailed for the Island *Plata* expecting to rejoin the ships there. CHAP. 14.  
1684.

Eaton in his route to the *East Indies* stopped at *Guahan*, one of the *Ladrone Islands*, where himself and his crew acted towards the native Islanders with the utmost barbarity, which Cowley relates as a subject of merriment. Eaton sails  
for the  
East Indies;  
Stops at the  
Ladrones.

On their first arrival at *Guahan*, Eaton sent a boat on shore to procure refreshments; but the natives kept at a distance, believing his ship to be one of the Manila galleons, and his people Spaniards. Eaton's men served themselves with coconuts, but finding difficulty in climbing, they cut the trees down to get at the fruit. The next time their boat went to the shore, the Islanders attacked her, but were easily repulsed, and a number of them killed. By this time the Spanish Governor was arrived at the part of the Island near which the ship had anchored, and sent a letter addressed to her Commander, written in four different languages, to wit, in Spanish, French, Dutch, and Latin, to demand of what country she was, and whence she came. Cowley says, 'Our Captain, thinking the French would be welcomer than the English, returned answer we were French, fitted out by private merchants to make fuller discovery of the world. The Governor on this, invited the Captain to the shore, and at their first conference, the Captain told him that the Indians had fallen upon his men, and that we had killed some of them. He wished we had killed them all, and told us of their rebellion, that they had killed eight Fathers, of sixteen which were in a convent. He gave us leave to kill and take whatever we could find on one half of the Island where the rebels lived. We then made wars with these infidels, and went on shore every day, fetching provisions, and firing upon them wherever we saw them, so that

Vol. IV. Y the

CHAP. 14.

1684.

‘ the greatest part of them left the Island. The Indians sent  
 ‘ two of their captains to us to treat of peace, but we would  
 ‘ not treat with them\*.’—‘ The whole land is a garden.  
 ‘ The Governor was the same man who detained Sir John  
 ‘ Narbrough’s Lieutenant at *Baldivia*. Our Captain supplied  
 ‘ him with four barrels of gunpowder, and arms.’

Josef de Quiroga was at this time Governor at *Guahan*, who afterwards conquered and unpeopled all the Northern Islands of the *Ladrones*. Eaton’s crew took some of the Islanders prisoners: three of them jumped overboard to endeavour to escape. It was easy to retake them, as they had been bound with their hands behind them; but Eaton’s men pursued them with the determined purpose to kill them, which they did in mere wantonness of sport†. At another time, when they had so far come to an accommodation with the Islanders as to admit of their approach, the ship’s boat being on shore fishing with the seine, some natives in canoes near her were suspected of intending mischief. Cowley relates, ‘ our people that were in the boat let go in amongst the  
 ‘ thickest of them, and killed a great many of their number.’ It is possible that thus much might have been necessary for safety; but Cowley proceeds, ‘ the others, seeing their mates  
 ‘ fall, ran away. Our other men which were on shore, meeting  
 ‘ them, saluted them also by making holes in their hides.’

From the *Ladrones* Eaton sailed to the North of *Luconia*, and passed through among the Islands which were afterwards named by Dampier the *Bashce Islands*. The account given by Cowley is as follows: ‘ There being half a point East variation, till we  
 ‘ came to latitude 20° 30’ N, where we fell in with a parcel of  
 ‘ Islands lying to the Northward of *Luconia*. On the 23d day  
 ‘ of

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\* *Manuscript Journal in the Sloane Collection.*

† See Cowley’s *Voyage*, p. 34. Also, Vol. III. of *South Sea Discoveries*, p. 305.

‘ of April, we sailed through between the second and third  
 ‘ of the Northernmost of them. We met with a very strong  
 ‘ current, like the *Race of Portland*. At the third of the  
 ‘ Northernmost Islands, we sent our boat on shore, where they  
 ‘ found abundance of nutmegs growing, but no people. ‘They  
 ‘ observed abundance of rocks and foul ground near the shore,  
 ‘ and saw many goats upon the Island.’

CHAP. 14.

1684.

Nutmeg  
Island,  
North of  
Luconia.

Cowley concludes the narrative of his voyage with saying  
 that he arrived home safe to *England* through the infinite  
 mercy of God.

To return to Edward Davis: At *Lobos de la Mar*, the Mosquito  
 Indians struck as much turtle as served all the crews. Shortly  
 after, Davis made an attempt to surprise *Guayaquil*, which  
 miscarried through the cowardice of one of his men, and the  
 coldness of Swan to the enterprise. In the *Bay of Guayaquil*  
 they captured four vessels; one of them laden with woollen  
 cloth of *Quito* manufacture; the other three were ships coming  
 out of the *River of Guayaquil* with cargoes of Negroes.

Coast of  
Peru.  
Davis  
attempts  
Guayaquil.Slave Ships  
captured.

The number of Negroes in these vessels was a thousand, from  
 among which Davis and Swan chose each about fifteen, and  
 let the vessels go. Dampier entertained on this occasion dif-  
 ferent views from his companions. ‘Never,’ says he, ‘was put  
 ‘ into the hands of men a greater opportunity to enrich them-  
 ‘ selves. We had 1000 Negroes, all lusty young men and  
 ‘ women, and we had 200 tons of flour stored up at the  
 ‘ *Galapagos Islands*. With these Negroes we might have gone  
 ‘ and settled at *Santa Maria* on the *Isthmus of Darien*, and  
 ‘ have employed them in getting gold out of the mines there.  
 ‘ All the Indians living in that neighbourhood were mortal  
 ‘ enemies to the Spaniards, were flushed by successes against  
 ‘ them, and for several years had been the fast friends of the  
 ‘ privateers. Add to which, we should have had the *North*

Y 2

‘ *Sea*



CHAP. 14. ' Sea open to us, and in a short time should have received  
 1684. ' assistance from all parts of the *West Indies*. Many thousands  
 December. ' of Buccaneers from *Jamaica* and the French Islands would  
 Coast of ' have flocked to us; and we should have been an overmatch  
 Peru. ' for all the force the Spaniards could have brought out of  
 ' *Peru* against us.'

The proposal to employ slaves in the mines leaves no cause to regret that Dampier's plan was not adopted; but that was probably not an objection with his companions. They naturally shrunk from an attempt which in the execution would have required a regularity and order to which they were unaccustomed, and not at all affected.

Description  
 of the  
 Harbour of  
 Guayaquil.

The Harbour of *Guayaquil* is the best formed port in *Peru*. In the river, three or four miles short of the town, stands a low Island about a mile long, on either side of which is a fair channel to pass up or down. The Western Channel is the widest: the other is as deep. ' From the upper part of the  
 ' Island to the town is about a league, and it is near as much  
 ' from one side of the river to the other. In that spacious place  
 ' ships of the greatest burthen may ride afloat; but the best  
 ' place for ships is near that part of the land on which the  
 ' town stands. The country here is subject to great rains and  
 ' thick fogs, which render it very unwholesome and sickly, in  
 ' the vallies especially; *Guayaquil* however is not so unhealthy  
 ' as *Quito* and other towns inland; but the Northern part of  
 ' *Peru* pays for the dry weather which they have about *Lima*  
 ' and to the Southward.'

Island  
*S<sup>a</sup> Clara*.  
 Shoals  
 near its  
 North Side.

' Ships bound into the river of *Guayaquil* pass on the South  
 ' side of the Island *Santa Clara* to avoid shoals which are on  
 ' the North side, whereon formerly ships have been wrecked.  
 ' A rich wreck lay on the North side of *Santa Clara* not far from  
 ' the Island, and some plate which was in her was taken up:  
 ' more

\* more might have been saved but for the cat-fish which swarm  
 \* hereabouts. CHAP. 14.

\* The Cat-fish is much like a whiting ; but the head is flatter 1684.  
 \* and bigger. It has a wide mouth, and certain small strings December.  
 \* pointing out on each side of it like cats' whiskers. It hath Coast of  
 \* three fins ; one on the back, and one on either side. Each of Peru.  
 \* these fins hath a sharp bone which is very venomous if it Cat Fish.  
 \* strikes into a man's flesh. Some of the Indians that adven-  
 \* tured to search this wreck lost their lives, and others the use  
 \* of their limbs, by these fins. Some of the cat-fish weigh seven  
 \* or eight pounds ; and in some places there are cat-fish which  
 \* are none of them bigger than a man's thumb ; but their fins  
 \* are all alike venomous. They are most generally at the  
 \* mouths of rivers (in the hot latitudes) or where there is much  
 \* mud and ooze. The bones in their bodies are not venomous,  
 \* and we never perceived any bad effect in eating the fish,  
 \* which is very sweet and wholesome meat\*.

The 13th, Davis and Swan with their prizes sailed from the Bay of Guayaquil to the Island Plata, and found there the bark which had been in quest of Eaton's ship.

From Plata, they sailed Northward towards the Bay of Panama, landing at the villages along the coast to seek provisions. They were ill provided with boats, which exposed them to danger in making descents, by their not being able to land or bring off many men at one time ; and they judged that the best places for getting their wants in this respect supplied would be in rivers of the Continent, in which the Spaniards had no settlement, where from the native inhabitants they might obtain canoes by traffic or purchase, if not otherwise. Dampier remarks that there were many such unfrequented rivers in the Continent to the Northward of the *Isle de la Plata* ; and that  
 from

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\* Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 6.

CHAP. 14. from the Equinoctial to the *Gulf de San Miguel* in the Bay of  
 1684. *Panama*, which is above eight degrees of latitude, the coast was  
 December. not inhabited by the Spaniards, nor were the Indians who lived  
 Coast of there in any manner under their subjection, except at one part  
 Peru. near the Island *Gallo*, 'where on the banks of a Gold River  
 'or two, some Spaniards had settled to find gold.'

The Land The land by the sea-coast to the North of *Cape San Francisco*  
 Northward is low and extremely woody; the trees are of extraordinary  
 of Cape San height and bigness; and in this part of the coast are large and  
 Francisco. navigable rivers. The white cotton-tree, which bears a very  
 The Cotton fine sort of cotton, called silk cotton, is the largest tree in these  
 Tree and woods; and the cabbage-tree is the tallest. Dampier has  
 Cabbage given full descriptions of both. He measured a cabbage-tree  
 Tree. 120 feet in length, and some were longer. 'It has no limbs nor  
 'boughs except at the head, where there are branches some-  
 'thing bigger than a man's arm. 'The cabbage-fruit shoots out  
 'in the midst of these branches, invested or folded in leaves,  
 'and is as big as the small of a man's leg, and a foot long. It  
 'is white as milk, and sweet as a nut if eaten raw, and is very  
 'sweet and wholesome if boiled.'

River of The Buccaneers entered a river with their boats, in or near  
 St. Jago. latitude 2° N, which Dampier, from some Spanish pilot-book,  
 calls the *River of St. Jago*. It was navigable some leagues  
 within the entrance, and seems to be the river marked with the  
 name *Patia* in the late Spanish charts, a name which has allu-  
 sion to spreading branches.

Davis's men went six leagues up the river without seeing  
 habitation or people. They then came in sight of two small  
 huts, the inhabitants of which hurried into canoes with their  
 household-stuff, and paddled upwards against the stream faster  
 than they could be pursued. More houses were seen higher up;  
 but the stream ran here so swift, that the Buccaneers would not  
 be

be at the labour of proceeding. They found in the two deserted huts, a hog, some fowls and plantains, which they dressed on the spot, and after their meal returned to the ships, which were at the *Island Gallo*.

CHAP. 14.  
1684.  
December.  
Coast of  
Peru.  
Island  
Gallo.

‘ The *Island Gallo* is clothed with timber, and here was a spring of good water at the NE end, with good landing in a small sandy bay, and secure riding in six or seven fathoms depth \*.’

They entered with their boats another large river, called the *Tomaco*, the entrance of which is but three leagues from the *Island Gallo*. This river was shoal at the mouth, and navigable for small vessels only. A little within, was a village called *Tomaco*, some of the inhabitants of which they took prisoners, and carried off a dozen jars of good wine.

River  
Tomaco.

On the 1st of January, they took a packet-boat bound for *Lima*, which the President of *Panama* had dispatched to hasten the sailing of the Plate Fleet from *Callao*; the treasure sent from *Peru* and *Chili* to *Old Spain* being usually first collected at *Panama*, and thence transported on mules to *Portobello*. The Buccaneers judged that the *Pearl Islands* in the *Bay of Panama* would be the best station they could occupy for intercepting ships from *Lima*.

1685.  
January.

On the 7th, they left *Gallo*, and pursued their course Northward. An example occurs here of Buccaneer order and discipline. ‘ We weighed,’ says Dampier, ‘ before day, and all got out of the road except Captain Swan’s tender, which never budged; for the men were all asleep when we went out, and the tide of flood coming on before they awoke, we were forced to stay for them till the following tide.’

On the 8th, they took a vessel laden with flour. The next day they anchored on the West side of the *Island Gorgona*, in 38 fathoms

Island  
Gorgona.

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\* Dampier.

CHAP. 14. 38 fathoms depth clear ground, a quarter of a mile from the  
 1685. shore. *Gorgona* was uninhabited; and like *Gallo* covered with  
 January. trees. It is pretty high, and remarkable by two saddles, or  
 risings and fallings on the top. It is about two leagues long,  
 one broad, and is four leagues distant from the mainland. It  
 was well watered at this time with small brooks issuing from  
 the high land. At its West end is another small Island. The  
 tide rises and falls seven or eight feet; and at low water shell-  
 fish, as periwinkles, muscles, and oysters, may be taken. At  
*Gorgona* were small black monkeys. 'When the tide was out,  
 ' the monkeys would come down to the sea-shore for shell-  
 ' fish. Their way was to take up an oyster and lay it upon a  
 ' stone, and with another stone to keep beating of it till they  
 ' broke the shell \*.' The pearl oyster was here in great plenty:  
 Pearl they are flatter than other oysters, are slimy, and taste cop-  
 Oysters. perish if eaten raw, but were thought good when boiled. The  
 Indians and Spaniards hang the meat of them on strings to  
 dry. 'The pearl is found at the head of the oyster, between  
 ' the meat and the shell. Some have 20 or 30 small seed-  
 ' pearl, some none at all, and some one or two pretty large  
 ' pearls. The inside of the shell is more glorious than the  
 ' pearl itself †.'

They put some of their prisoners on shore at *Gorgona*, and  
 sailed thence on the 13th, being six sail in company; that is to  
 Bay of say, Davis's ship, Swan's ship, three tenders, and their last prize.  
 Panama. The 21st, they arrived in the *Bay of Panama*, and anchored at  
 Galera Isle. a small low and barren Island named *Galera*.

On the 25th, they went from *Galera* to one of the Southern  
*Pearl Islands*, where they lay the ships aground to clean, the  
 rise and fall of the sea at the spring tides being ten feet per-  
 pendicular. The small barks were kept out cruising; and on  
 the

\* *Wafer's Voyages*, p. 196.

† *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 7.

the 31st, they brought in a vessel bound for *Panama* from *Lavelia*, a town on the West side of the *Bay*, laden with Indian corn, salt beef, and fowls.

CHAP. 14.

1685.

January.

Bay of  
Panama.

Notwithstanding it had been long reported that a fleet was fitting out in *Peru* to clear the *South Sea* of pirates, the small force under Davis, Swan, and Harris, amounting to little more than 250 men, remained several weeks in uninterrupted possession of the *Bay of Panama*, blocking up access to the city by sea, supplying themselves with provisions from the Islands, and plundering whatsoever came in their way.

The *Pearl Islands* are woody, and the soil rich. They are cultivated with plantations of rice, plantains, and bananas, for the support of the City of *Panama*. Dampier says, ‘Why they are called the *Pearl Islands* I cannot imagine, for I did never see one pearl oyster about them, but of other oysters many. It is very pleasant sailing here, having the mainland on one side, which appears in divers forms, beautified with small hills clothed with woods always green and flourishing; and on the other side, the *Pearl Islands*, which also make a lovely prospect as you sail by them.’

The Pearl  
Islands.

The Buccaneers went daily in their canoes among the different Islands, to fish, fowl, or hunt for guanoes. One man so employed and straggling from his party, was surprised by the Spaniards, and carried to *Panama*.

In the middle of February, Davis, who appears to have always directed their movements as the chief in command, went with his ships and anchored near the City of *Panama*. He negotiated with the Governor an exchange of prisoners, and was glad by the release of forty Spaniards to obtain the deliverance of two Buccaneers; one of them the straggler just mentioned; the other, one of Harris’s men.

February.

A short time after this exchange, as the Buccaneer ships  
VOL. IV. Z were

CHAP. 14. were at anchor near the Island *Taboga*, which is about four leagues to the South of *Panama*, they were visited by a Spaniard in a canoe, who pretended he was a merchant and wanted to traffic with them privately. He proposed to come off to the ships in the night with a small vessel laden with such goods as the Buccaneers desired to purchase. This was agreed to, and he came with his vessel when it was dark ; but instead of a cargo of goods, she was fitted up as a fire-ship with combustibles. The Buccaneers had suspected his intention and were on their guard ; but to ward off the mischief, were obliged to cut from their anchors and set sail.

In the morning they returned to their anchorage, which they had scarcely regained when a fresh cause of alarm occurred. Dampier relates, ‘ We were striving to recover the anchors we had parted from, but the buoy-ropes, being rotten, broke, and whilst we were puzzling about our anchors, we saw a great many canoes full of men pass between the Island *Taboga* and another Island, which at first put us into a new consternation. We lay still some time, till we saw they made directly towards us ; upon which we weighed and stood towards them. When we came within hail, we found that they were English and French privateers just come from the *North Sea* over the *Isthmus of Darien*. We presently came to an anchor again, and all the canoes came on board.’

Arrival of fresh bodies of Buccaneers from the West Indies. This new arrival of Buccaneers to the *South Sea* consisted of 200 Frenchmen and 80 Englishmen, commanded by two Frenchmen named Grognet and L’Escuyer. Grognet had a commission to war on the Spaniards from a French West-India Governor. The Englishmen of this party upon joining Davis, were received into the ships of their countrymen, and the largest of the prize vessels, which was a ship named the *San Rosario*, was given to the Frenchmen.

Grognet and L’Escuyer.

From

From these new confederates it was learnt, that another party, consisting of 180 Buccaneers, commanded by an Englishman named Townley, had crossed the *Isthmus*, and were building canoes in the *Gulf de San Miguel*; on which intelligence, it was determined to sail to that Gulf, that the whole buccaneer force in this sea might be joined. Grognet in return for the ship given to the French Buccaneers, offered to Davis and Swan new commissions from the Governor of *Petit Goave*, by whom he had been furnished with spare commissions with blanks, to be filled up and disposed of at his own discretion. Davis accepted Grognet's present, 'having before only 'an old commission which had belonged to Captain Tristian, 'and which, being found in Tristian's ship when she was carried off by Cook, had devolved as an inheritance to Davis.' The commissions which, by whatever means, the Buccaneers procured, were not much protection in the event of their falling into the hands of the Spaniards, unless the nation of which the Buccaneer was a native happened to be then at war with *Spain*. Instances were not uncommon in the *West Indies* of the Spaniards hanging up their buccaneer prisoners with their commissions about their necks. But the commissions were allowed to be valid in the ports of other powers. Swan however refused the one offered him, and rested his justification on the orders he had received from the Duke of York; in which he was directed, neither to give offence to the Spaniards, nor to submit to receive affront from them: they had done him injury in killing his men at *Baldivia*, and he held his orders to be a lawful commission to do himself right.

On the 3d of March, as they approached the *Gulf de San Miguel* to meet the Buccaneers under Townley, they were again surprised by seeing two ships standing towards them. These proved to be Townley and his men, in two prizes they

CHAP. 14.

1685.

February.

Bay of  
Panama.March.  
Townley  
and his  
Crew.



CHAP. 14.

1685.

March.

Bay of  
Panama.

Pisco

Wine.

they had already taken, one laden with flour, the other with wine, brandy, and sugar ; both designed for *Panama*. The wine came from *Pisco*, ' which place is famous for wine, and was ' contained in jars of seven or eight gallons each. Ships which ' lade at *Pisco* stow the jars one tier on the top of another, so ' artificially that we could hardly do the like without breaking ' them : yet they often carry in this manner 1500 or 2000, or ' more, in a ship, and seldom break one.'

On this junction of the Buccaneers, they went altogether to the *Pearl Islands* to make arrangements, and to fit their prize vessels as well as circumstances would admit, for their new occupation. Among the preparations necessary to their equipment, it was not the last which occurred, that the jars from *Pisco* were wanted to contain their sea stock of fresh water ; for which service they were in a short time rendered competent.

The 10th, they took a small bark in ballast, from *Guayaquil*. On the 12th, some Indians in a canoe came out of the River *Santa Maria*, purposely to inform them that a large body of English and French Buccaneers were then on their march over the *Isthmus* from the *North Sea*. This was not all ; for on the 15th, one of the small barks which were kept out cruising, fell in with a vessel in which were six Englishmen, who were part of a crew of Buccaneers that had been six months in the *South Sea*, under the command of a William Knight. These six men had been sent in a canoe in chase of a vessel, which they came up with and took ; but they had chased out of sight of their own ship, and could not afterwards find her. Davis gave the command of this vessel to Harris, who took possession of her with a crew of his own followers, and he was sent to the River *Santa Maria* to look for the buccaneers, of whose coming the Indians had given information.

This was the latter part of the dry season in the *Bay of Panama*.

*Panama*. Hitherto fresh water had been found in plenty at the *Pearl Islands*; but the springs and rivulets were now dried up. The Buccaneers examined within *Point Garachina*, but found no fresh water. They searched along the coast Southward, and on the 25th, at a narrow opening in the mainland with two small rocky Islands before it, about seven leagues distant from *Point Garachina*, which Dampier supposed to be *Port de Pinas*, they found a stream of good water which ran into the sea; but the harbour was open to the SW, and a swell set in, which rendered watering there difficult and hazardous: the fleet (for they were nine sail in company) therefore stood for the Island *Taboga*, 'where,' says Dampier, 'we were sure to find a supply.'

CHAP. 14.  
1685.  
March.  
Bay of  
Panama.

Port de  
Pinas.  
25th.

Taboga  
Isle.

Their boats being sent before the ships, came unexpectedly upon some of the inhabitants of *Panama* who were loading a canoe with plantains, and took them prisoners. One among these, a Mulatto, had the imprudence to say he was in the fire-ship which had been sent in the night to burn the Buccaneer ships; upon which, the Buccaneers immediately hanged him.

April.

They had chocolate, but no sugar; and all the kettles they possessed, constantly kept boiling, were not sufficient to dress victuals for so many men. Whilst the ships lay at *Taboga*, a detachment was sent to a sugar-work on the mainland, from which they returned with sugar and three coppers.

On the 11th of April, they went from *Taboga* to the *Pearl Islands*, and were there joined by the Flibustiers and Buccaneers of whose coming they had been last apprised, consisting of 264 men, commanded by Frenchmen named Rose, Le Picard, and Des-marais. Le Picard was a veteran who had served under Lolonois and Morgan. In this party came Ravenau de Lussan, whose Journal is said to be the only one kept by any of the French who were in this expedition.

More  
Buccaneers  
arrive.

Lussan's

## CHAP. 14.

1685.

April.

Bay of  
Panama.

Lussan's Narrative is written with much misplaced gaiety, which comes early into notice, and shews him to have been, even whilst young and unpractised in the occupation of a Buccaneer, of a disposition delighting in cruelty. In the account of his journey overland from the *West Indies*, he relates instances which he witnessed of the great dexterity of the monkeys which inhabited the forests, and among others the following: '*Je ne puis me souvenir sans rire de l'action que je vis faire à un de ces animaux, auquel après avoir tiré plusieurs coups de fusil qui lui emportoient une partie du ventre, en sorte que toutes ses tripes sortoient; je le vis se tenir d'une de ses pattes, ou mains si l'on veut, à une branche d'arbre, tandis que de l'autre il ramassoit ses intestins qu'il se refouroit dans ce qui lui restoit de ventre* \*.'

Ambrose Cowley and Raveneau de Lussan are well matched for comparison, alike not only in their dispositions, but in their conceptions, which made them imagine the recital of such actions would be read with delight.

The Buccaneers in the *Bay of Panama* were now nearly a thousand strong, and they held a consultation whether or not they should attack the city. They had just before learnt from an intercepted packet that the *Lima Fleet* was at sea, richly charged with treasure; and that it was composed of all the naval force the Spaniards in *Peru* had been able to collect: it was therefore agreed not to attempt the city at the present, but to wait patiently the arrival of the Spanish fleet, and give it battle. The only enterprise they undertook on the main-land in the mean time, was against the town of *Chepo*, where they found neither opposition nor plunder.

Chepo.

The small Island *Chepillo* near the mouth of the river which leads to *Chepo*, Dampier reckoned the most pleasant of all the Islands

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\* *Journal du Voyage au Mer du Sud, par Rav. de Lussan, p. 25.*

Islands in the *Bay of Panama*. 'It is low on the North side, and rises by a small ascent towards the South side. The soil is yellow, a kind of clay. The low land is planted with all sorts of delicate fruits.' The Islands in the Bay being occupied by the Buccaneers, caused great scarcity of provision and distress at *Panama*, much of the consumption in that city having usually been supplied from the Islands, which on that account and for their pleasantness were called the Gardens of *Panama*.

CHAP. 14.

1685.

April.

Bay of  
Panama.

In this situation things remained till near the end of May, the Buccaneers in daily expectation of seeing the fleet from *Lima*, of which it is now time to speak.

## C H A P. XV.

*Edward Davis Commander. Meeting of the Spanish and Buccaneer Fleets in the Bay of Panama. They separate without fighting. The Buccaneers sail to the Island Quibo. The English and French separate. Expedition against the City of Leon. That City and Ria Lexa burnt. Farther dispersion of the Buccaneers.*

CHAP. 15.

1685.

May.

Bay of  
Panama.The  
Lima Fleet  
arrives at  
Panama.

THE Viceroy of *Peru* judged the Fleet he had collected, to be strong enough to encounter the Buccaneers, and did not fear to trust the treasure to its protection; but he gave directions to the Commander of the Fleet to endeavour to avoid a meeting with them until after the treasure should be safely landed. In pursuance of this plan, the Spanish Admiral, as he drew near the *Bay of Panama*, kept more Westward than the usual course, and fell in with the coast of *Veragua* to the West of the *Punta Mala*. Afterwards, he entered the *Bay* with his fleet keeping close to the West shore; and to place the treasure out of danger as soon as possible, he landed it at *Lavelia*, thinking it most probable his fleet would be descried by the enemy before he could reach *Panama*, which must have happened if the weather had not been thick, or if the Buccaneers had kept a sharper look-out by stationing tenders across the entrance of the *Bay*. In consequence of this being neglected, the Spanish fleet arrived and anchored before the city of *Panama* without having been perceived by them, and immediately on their arrival, the crews of the ships were reinforced with a number of European seamen who had purposely been sent over land from *Porto Bello*. Thus strengthened, and the treasure

treasure being placed out of danger, the Spanish Admiral took up his anchors, and stood from the road before *Panama* towards the middle of the Bay, in quest of the Buccaneers.

CHAP. 15.

1685.

May.

Bay of  
Panama.

28th.

May the 28th, the morning was rainy : the Buccaneer fleet was lying at anchor near the Island *Pacheca*, the Northernmost of the *Pearl Islands*. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the weather cleared up, when the Spanish fleet appeared in sight about three leagues distant from them to the WNW. The wind was light from the Southward, and they were standing sharp trimmed towards the Buccaneers.

Lussan dates this their meeting with the Spanish Fleet, to be on June the 7th. Ten days alteration of the style had taken place in *France* three years before, and no alteration of style had yet been adopted in *England*.

Meeting of  
the two  
Fleets.

The Buccaneer fleet was composed of ten sail of vessels, of different sizes, manned with 960 men, almost all Europeans; but, excepting the Batchelor's Delight and the Cygnet, none of their vessels had cannon. Edward Davis was regarded as the Admiral. His ship mounted 36 guns, and had a crew of 156 men, most of them English; but as he was furnished with a French commission, and *France* was still at war with *Spain*, he carried aloft a white flag, in which was painted a hand and sword. Swan's ship had 16 guns, with a crew of 140 men, all English, and carried a Saint George's flag at her main-topmast head. The rest of their fleet was well provided with small-arms, and the crews were dexterous in the use of them. Grognet's ship was the most powerful, except in cannon, her crew consisting of 308 men.

Force of  
the  
Buccaneers.

The Spanish fleet numbered fourteen sail, six of which were provided with cannon; six others with musketry only, and two were fitted up as fire-ships. The buccaneer accounts say the Spanish Admiral had 48 guns mounted, and 450 men; the Vice-

Force of the  
Spanish  
Fleet.

CHAP. 15. Admiral 40 guns, and men in proportion ; the Rear-Admiral  
 1685. 36 guns, one of the other ships 24, one 18, and one 8 guns ;  
 May. and that the number of men in their fleet was above 2500 ;  
 Bay of but more than one half of them Indians or slaves.  
 Panama.

When the two fleets first had sight of each other, Grognet's ship lay at anchor a mile to leeward of his confederates, on which account he weighed anchor, and stood close upon a wind to the Eastward, intending to turn up to the other ships ; but in endeavouring to tack, he missed stays twice, which kept him at a distance all the fore part of the day. From the superiority of the Spaniards in cannon, and of the buccaneer crews in musketry, it was evident that distant fighting was most to the advantage of the Spaniards ; and that the Buccaneers had to rest their hopes of success on close fighting and boarding. Davis was fully of this opinion, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy's fleet being directly to leeward and not far distant, he got his vessels under sail and bore right down upon them, making a signal at the same time to Grognet to board the Spanish Vice-Admiral, who was some distance separate from the other ships of his fleet.

Here may be contemplated the Buccaneers at the highest pitch of elevation to which they at any time attained. If they obtained the victory, it would give them the sole dominion of the *South Sea* ; and Davis, the buccaneer Commander, aimed at no less ; but he was ill seconded, and was not possessed of authority to enforce obedience to his commands.

The order given to Grognet was not put in execution, and when Davis had arrived with his ship within cannon-shot of the Spaniards, Swan shortened sail and lowered his ensign, to signify he was of opinion that it would be best to postpone fighting till the next day. Davis wanting the support of two of the most able ships of his fleet, was obliged to forego his intention,

intention, and no act of hostility passed during the afternoon and evening except the exchange of some shot between his own ship and that of the Spanish Vice-Admiral.

When it was dark, the Spanish fleet anchored, and at the same time, the Spanish Admiral took in his light, and ordered a light to be shewn from one of his small vessels, which he sent to leeward. The Buccaneers were deceived by this artifice, believing the light they saw to be that of the Spanish Admiral, and they continued under sail, thinking themselves secure of the weather-gage. At daylight the next morning the Spaniards were seen well collected, whilst the buccaneer vessels were much dispersed. Grognet and Townley were to windward of the Spaniards; but all the rest, contrary to what they had expected, were to leeward. At sunrise, the Spanish fleet got under sail and bore down towards the leeward buccaneer ships. The Buccaneers thought it not prudent to fight under such disadvantages, and did not wait to receive them. They were near the small Island *Pacheca*, on the South side of which are some Islands yet smaller. Among these Islands, Dampier says, is a narrow channel in one part not forty feet wide. Townley, being pressed by the Spaniards and in danger of being intercepted, pushed for this passage without any previous examination of the depth of water, and got safe through. Davis and Swan, whose ships were the fastest sailing in either fleet, had the credit of affording protection to their flying companions, by waiting to repulse the most advanced of the Spaniards. Dampier, who was in Davis's ship, says, she was pressed upon by the whole Spanish force. 'The Spanish Admiral and the rest of his squadron began to play at us and we at them as fast as we could: yet they kept at distant cannonading. They might have laid us aboard if they would, but they came not within small-arms shot, intending to maul

CHAP. 15.

1685.

May.

Bay of  
Panama.

29th.

A A 2

' us



CHAP. 15. ' us in pieces with their great guns.' After a circuitous chace  
 1685. and running fight, which lasted till the evening, the Buccaneers,  
 May. Harris's ship excepted, which had been forced to make off in a  
 Bay of different direction, anchored by the Island *Pacheca*, nearly in  
 Panama. the same spot whence they had set out in the morning.

30th. On the 30th, at daylight, the Spanish fleet was seen at anchor  
 three leagues to leeward. The breeze was faint, and both fleets lay  
 quiet till ten o'clock in the forenoon. The wind then freshened  
 a little from the South, and the Spaniards took up their  
 anchors; but instead of making towards the Buccaneers, they  
 sailed away in a disgraceful manner for *Panama*. Whether they  
 sustained any loss in this skirmishing does not appear. The  
 Buccaneers had only one man killed outright. In Davis's ship,  
 six men were wounded, and half of her rudder was shot away.

The two  
 Fleets  
 separate. It might seem to those little acquainted with the management  
 of ships that it could make no material difference whether  
 the Spaniards bore down to engage the Buccaneers, or the  
 Buccaneers bore down to engage the Spaniards; for that  
 in either case when the fleets were closed, the Buccaneers  
 might have tried the event of boarding. But the difference  
 here was, that if the Buccaneers had the weather-gage, it  
 enabled them to close with the enemy in the most speedy  
 manner, which was of much consequence where the disparity in  
 the number of cannon was so great. When the Spaniards had the  
 weather-gage, they would press the approach only near enough  
 to give effect to their cannon, and not near enough for musketry  
 to do them mischief. With this view, they could choose their  
 distance when to stop and bring their broadsides to bear, and  
 leave to the Buccaneers the trouble of making nearer approach,  
 against the wind and a heavy cannonade. Dampier, who has  
 related the transactions of the 28th and 29th very briefly, speaks  
 of the weather-gage here as a decisive advantage. He says,  
 " In

" In the morning (of the 29th) therefore, when we found the  
 " enemy had got the weather-gage of us, and were coming  
 " upon us with full sail, we ran for it."

CHAP. 15.

1685.

May.

Bay of  
Panama.

On this occasion there is no room for commendation on the valour of either party. The Buccaneers, however, knew, by the Spanish fleet coming to them from *Panama*, that the treasure must have been landed, and therefore they could have had little motive for enterprise. The meeting was faintly sought by both sides, and no battle was fought, except a little cannonading during the retreat of the Buccaneers, which on their side was almost wholly confined to the ship of their Commander. Both Dampier and Lussan acknowledge that Edward Davis brought the whole of the buccaneer fleet off safe from the Spaniards by his courage and good management.

On June the 1st, the Buccaneers sailed out of the *Bay of Panama* for the Island *Quibo*. They had to beat up against SW winds, and had much wet weather. In the middle of June, they anchored on the East side of *Quibo*, where they were joined by Harris.

June.

*Quibo* and the smaller Islands near it, Dampier calls collectively, the Keys of *Quibo*. They are all woody. Good fresh water was found on the great Island, which would naturally be the case with the wet weather; and here were deer, guanoes, and large black monkeys, whose flesh was esteemed by the Buccaneers to be sweet and wholesome food.

Keys of  
Quibo.  
The Island  
Quibo.

A shoal which runs out from the SE point of *Quibo* half a mile into the sea, has been already noticed: a league to the North of this shoal, and a mile distant from the shore, is a rock which appears above water only at the last quarter ebb. Except the shoal, and this rock, there is no other danger; and ships may anchor within a quarter of a mile of the shore, in from six to twelve fathoms clear sand and ooze \*.

Rock near  
the  
Anchorage.

They

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\* Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 8.

## CHAP. 15.

1685.

June.

At the  
Island  
Quibo.

They stopped at *Quibo* to make themselves canoes, the trees there being well suited for the purpose, and some so large that a single trunk hollowed and wrought into shape, would carry forty or fifty men. Whilst this work was performing, a strong party was sent to the main-land against *Pueblo Nuevo*, which town was now entered without opposition; but no plunder was obtained.

Serpents.

The  
Serpent  
Berry.

Lussan relates that two of the Buccaneers were killed by serpents at *Quibo*. He says, 'here are serpents whose bite is so venomous that speedy death inevitably ensues, unless the patient can have immediate recourse to a certain fruit, which must be chewed and applied to the part bitten. The tree which bears this fruit grows here, and in other parts of *America*. It resembles the almond-tree in *France* in height and in its leaves. The fruit is like the sea chesnut (*Chataines de Mer*) but is of a grey colour, rather bitter in taste, and contains in its middle a whitish almond. The whole is to be chewed together before it is applied. It is called (*Graine à Serpent*) the Serpent Berry.'

July.  
Disagree-  
ments  
among the  
Buccaneers.

The dissatisfaction caused by their being foiled in the *Bay of Panama*, broke out in reproaches, and produced great disagreements among the Buccaneers. Many blamed Grognet for not coming into battle the first day. On the other hand, Lussan blames the behaviour of the English, who, he says, being the greater number, lorded it over the French; that Townley, liking Grognet's ship better than his own, would have insisted on a change, if the French had not shewn a determination to resist such an imposition. Another cause of complaint against the English was, the indecent and irreverent manner in which they shewed their hatred to the Roman Catholic religion. Lussan says, 'When they entered the Spanish churches, it was their diversion to hack and mutilate every thing with their cutlasses, and to fire their muskets and pistols at the images  
' of

‘ of the Saints.’ In consequence of these disagreements, 330 of the French joined together under Grognet, and separated from the English.

CHAP. 15.

1685.

The French  
separate  
from the  
English.  
Knight, a  
Buccaneer  
Commander,  
joins Davis.

Before either of the parties had left *Quibo*, William Knight, a Buccaneer already mentioned, arrived there in a ship manned with 40 Englishmen and 11 Frenchmen. This small crew of Buccaneers had crossed the *Isthmus* about nine months before; they had been cruising both on the coast of *New Spain* and on the coast of *Peru*; and the sum of their successes amounted to their being provided with a good vessel and a good stock of provisions. They had latterly been to the Southward, where they learnt that the *Lima* fleet had sailed against the Buccaneers before *Panama*, which was the first notice they received of other Buccaneers than themselves being in the *South Sea*. On the intelligence, they immediately sailed for the *Bay of Panama*, that they might be present and share in the capture of the Spaniards, which they believed would inevitably be the result of a meeting. On arriving in the *Bay of Panama*, they learnt what really had happened: nevertheless, they proceeded to *Quibo* in search of their friends. The Frenchmen in Knight's ship left her to join their countrymen: Knight and the rest of the crew, put themselves under the command of Davis.

The ship commanded by Harris, was found to be in a decayed state and untenable. Another vessel was given to him and his crew; but the whole company were so much crowded for want of ship room, that a number remained constantly in canoes. One of the canoes which they built at *Quibo* measured 36 feet in length, and between 5 and 6 feet in width.

Davis and the English party, having determined to attack the city of *Leon* in the province of *Nicaragua*, sent an invitation to the French Buccaneers to rejoin them. The French  
had

**CHAP. 15.** had only one ship, which was far from sufficient to contain their whole number, and they demanded, as a condition of their uniting again with the English, that another vessel should be given to themselves. The English could ill spare a ship, and would not agree to the proposition; the separation therefore was final. Jean Rose, a Frenchman, with fourteen of his countrymen, in a new canoe they had built for themselves, left Grognet to try their fortunes under Davis.

1685.

July.

At the  
Island  
Quibo.

In this, and in other separations which subsequently took place among the Buccaneers, it has been thought the most clear and convenient arrangement of narrative, to follow the fortunes of the buccaneer Commander Edward Davis and his adherents, without interruption, to the conclusion of their adventures in the *South Sea*; and afterwards to resume the proceedings of the other adventurers.

Proceed-  
ings of  
Edward  
Davis.August.  
Expedition  
against  
the City of  
Leon.

On the 20th of July, Davis with eight vessels and 640 men, departed from the Island *Quibo* for *Ria Lera*, sailing through the channel between *Quibo* and the main-land, and along the coast of the latter, which was low and overgrown with thick woods, and appeared thin of inhabitants. August the 9th, at eight in the morning, the ships being then so far out in the offing that they could not be descried from the shore, Davis with 520 men went away in 31 canoes for the harbour of *Ria Lera*. They set out with fair weather; but at two in the afternoon, a tornado came from the land, with thunder, lightning, and rain, and with such violent gusts of wind that the canoes were all obliged to put right before it, to avoid being overwhelmed by the billows. Dampier remarks generally of the hot latitudes, as Lussan does of the *Pacific Ocean*, that the sea there is soon raised by the wind, and when the wind abates is soon down again. *Up Wind Up Sea, Down Wind Down Sea*, is proverbial between the tropics among seamen. The fierceness of the tornado

tornado continued about half an hour, after which the wind gradually abated, and the canoes again made towards the land. At seven in the evening it was calm, and the sea quite smooth. During the night, the Buccaneers, having the direction of a Spanish pilot, entered a narrow creek which led towards *Leon*; but the pilot could not undertake to proceed up till daylight, lest he should mistake, there being several creeks communicating with each other.

CHAP. 15.

1685.

August.

Proceed-  
ings of  
Edw. Davis.

The city of *Leon* bordered on the Lake of *Nicaragua*, and was reckoned twenty miles within the sea coast. They went only a part of this distance by the river, when Davis, leaving sixty men to guard the canoes, landed with the rest and marched towards the city, two miles short of which they passed through an Indian town. *Leon* had a cathedral and three other churches. It was not fortified, and the Spaniards, though they drew up their force in the Great Square or Parade, did not think themselves strong enough to defend the place. About three in the afternoon, the Buccaneers entered, and the Spaniards retired.

*Leon.*

All the Buccaneers who landed did not arrive at *Leon* that same day. According to their ability for the march, Davis had disposed his men into divisions. The foremost was composed of all the most active, who marched without delay for the town, the other divisions following as speedily as they were able. The rear division being of course composed of the worst travellers, some of them could not keep pace even with their own division. They all came in afterwards except two, one of whom was killed, and the other taken prisoner. The man killed was a stout grey-headed old man of the name of Swan, aged about 84 years, who had served under Cromwell, and had ever since made privateering or buccaneering his occupation. This veteran would not be dissuaded from going on the enterprise against

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*Leon*;

CHAP. 15. *Leon*; but his strength failed in the march; and after being  
 1685. left in the road, he was found by the Spaniards, who endeavoured  
 August. to make him their prisoner; but he refused to surrender, and  
 Proceedings of fired his musket amongst them, having in reserve a pistol still  
 Edw. Davis. charged; on which he was shot dead.

The houses in *Leon* were large, built of stone, but not high, with gardens about them. 'Some have recommended *Leon* as 'the most pleasant place in all *America*; and for health and 'pleasure it does surpass most places. The country round is of 'a sandy soil, which soon drinks up the rains to which these 'parts are much subject \*.'

Leon burnt by the Buccaneers. The Buccaneers being masters of the city, the Governor sent a flag of truce to treat for its ransom. They demanded 300,000 dollars, and as much provision as would subsist 1000 men four months: also that the Buccaneer taken prisoner should be exchanged. These demands it is probable the Spaniards never intended to comply with; however they prolonged the negotiation, till the Buccaneers suspected it was for the purpose of collecting force. Therefore, on the 14th, they set fire to the city, and returned to the coast. The town of *Ria Lera* underwent a similar fate, contrary to the intention of the Buccaneer Commander.

*Ria Lera*. *Ria Lera* is unwholesomely situated in a plain among creeks and swamps, 'and is never free from a noisome smell.' The soil is a strong yellow clay; in the neighbourhood of the town were many sugar-works and beef-farms; pitch, tar, and cordage were made here; with all which commodities the inhabitants carried on a good trade. The Buccaneers supplied themselves with as much as they wanted of these articles, besides which, they received at *Ria Lera* 150 head of cattle from a Spanish gentleman, who had been released upon his parole, and promise

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\* *Dampier*.

mise of making such payment for his ransom ; their own man who had been made prisoner was redeemed in exchange for a Spanish lady, and they found in the town 500 packs of flour ; which circumstances might have put the Buccaneers in good temper and have induced them to spare the town ; ‘ but,’ says Dampier, ‘ some of our destructive crew, I know not by whose order, set fire to the houses, and we marched away and left them burning.’

CHAP. 15.

1685.

August.

Town of  
Ria Lexa  
burnt.

After the *Leon* expedition, no object of enterprise occurred to them of sufficient magnitude to induce or to enable them to keep together in such large force. Dispersed in small bodies, they expected a better chance of procuring both subsistence and plunder. By general consent therefore, the confederacy which had been preserved of the English Buccaneers was relinquished, and they formed into new parties according to their several inclinations. Swan proposed to cruise along the coast of *New Spain*, and NW-ward, as far as to the entrance of the *Gulf of California*, and thence to take his departure for the *East Indies*. Townley and his followers agreed to try their fortunes with Swan as long as he remained on the coast of *New Spain* ; after which they proposed to return to the *Isthmus*. In the course of settling these arrangements, William Dampier, being desirous of going to the *East Indies*, took leave of his commander, Edward Davis, and embarked with Swan. Of these, an account will be given hereafter.

Farther  
Separation  
of the  
Buccaneers.



## C H A P. XVI.

*Buccaneers under Edward Davis. At Amapalla Bay; Cocos Island; The Galapagos Islands; Coast of Peru. Peruvian Wine. Knight quits the South Sea. Bezoar Stones. Marine productions on Mountains. Vermejo. Davis joins the French Buccaneers at Guayaquil. Long Sea Engagement.*

CHAP. 16.

1685.

August.

Proceed-  
ings of the  
Buccaneers  
under  
Edw. Davis.  
Amapalla  
Bay.

WITH Davis there remained the vessels of Knight and Harris, with a tender, making in all four sail. August the 27th, they sailed from the harbour of *Ria Lexa*, and as they departed Swan saluted them with fifteen guns, to which Davis returned eleven.

A sickness had broken out among Davis's people, which was attributed to the unwholesomeness of the air, or the bad water, at *Ria Lexa*. After leaving the place, the disorder increased, on which account Davis sailed to the *Bay of Amapalla*, where on his arrival he built huts on one of the Islands in the Bay for the accommodation of his sick men, and landed them. Above 130 of the Buccaneers were ill with a spotted fever, and several died.

A hot  
River.

Lionel Wafer was surgeon with Davis, and has given a brief account of his proceedings. Wafer, with some others, went on shore to the main land on the South side of *Amapalla Bay*, to seek for provisions. They walked to a beef farm which was about three miles from their landing. In the way they crossed a hot river in an open savannah, or plain, which they forded with some difficulty on account of its heat. This river issued from under a hill which was not a volcano, though along the coast there were several. 'I had the curiosity,' says Wafer, 'to  
' wade

‘ wade up the stream as far as I had daylight to guide me. CHAP. 16.  
 ‘ The water was clear and shallow, but the steams were like 1685.  
 ‘ those of a boiling pot, and my hair was wet with them. The Amapalla  
 ‘ river reeked without the hill a great way. Some of our men Bay.  
 ‘ who had the itch, bathed themselves here, and growing well  
 ‘ soon after, their cure was imputed to the sulphureousness or  
 ‘ other virtue of this water.’ Here were many wolves, who  
 approached so near and so boldly to some who had straggled  
 from the rest of their party, as to give them great alarm, and  
 they did not dare to fire, lest the noise of their guns should  
 bring more wolves about them.

Davis remained some weeks at *Amapalla Bay*, and departed  
 thence for the Peruvian coast, with the crews of his ships reco-  
 vered. In their way Southward they made *Cocos Island*, and  
 anchored in the harbour at the NE part, where they supplied  
 themselves with excellent fresh water and cocoa-nuts. Wafer  
 has given the description following: ‘ The middle of *Cocos*  
 ‘ *Island* is a steep hill, surrounded with a plain declining to the  
 ‘ sea. This plain is thick set with cocoa-nut trees: but what  
 ‘ contributes greatly to the pleasure of the place is, that a  
 ‘ great many springs of clear and sweet water rising to the top  
 ‘ of the hill, are there gathered as in a deep large bason or  
 ‘ pond, and the water having no channel, it overflows the verge  
 ‘ of its bason in several places, and runs trickling down in  
 ‘ pleasant streams. In some places of its overflowing, the  
 ‘ rocky side of the hill being more than perpendicular, and  
 ‘ hanging over the plain beneath, the water pours down in a  
 ‘ cataract, so as to leave a dry space under the spout, and  
 ‘ form a kind of arch of water. The freshness which the  
 ‘ falling water gives the air in this hot climate makes this a  
 ‘ delightful place. We did not spare the cocoa-nuts. One  
 ‘ day, some of our men being minded to make themselves  
 ‘ merry,

*Cocos*  
*Island*

CHAP. 16. ' merry, went ashore and cut down a great many cocoa-nut trees;  
 1685. ' from which they gathered the fruit, and drew about twenty  
 Cocos ' gallons of the milk. They then sat down and drank healths  
 Island. ' to the King and Queen, and drank an excessive quantity;  
 Effect of ' yet it did not end in drunkenness: but this liquor so chilled  
 Excess in ' and benumbed their nerves that they could neither go nor  
 drinking the ' stand. Nor could they return on board without the help of  
 Milk of the ' those who had not been partakers of the frolick, nor did they  
 Cocoa-nut. ' recover under four or five days' time \*.'

Here Peter Harris broke off consortship, and departed for the *East Indies*. The tender sailed at the same time, probably following the same route.

At the ' Davis and Knight continued to associate, and sailed together  
 Galapagos ' from *Cocos Island* to the *Galapagos*. At one of these Islands  
 Islands. ' they found fresh water; the buccaneer Journals do not specify  
 ' which Island, nor any thing that can be depended upon as  
 ' certain of its situation. Wafer only says, ' From *Cocos* we came  
 ' to one of the *Galapagos Islands*. At this Island there was but  
 ' one watering-place, and there we careened our ship.' Dampier  
 ' was not with them at this time; but in describing the *Galapagos*  
 ' Isles, he makes the following mention of Davis's careening  
 ' place. ' Part of what I say of these Islands I had from Captain  
 ' Davis, who was there afterwards, and careened his ship at  
 ' neither of the Islands that we were at in 1684, but went to  
 ' other Islands more to the Westward, which he found to be  
 ' good habitable Islands, having a deep fat soil capable of  
 ' producing any thing that grows in those climates: they are  
 ' well watered, and have plenty of good timber. Captain  
 ' Harris came hither likewise, and found some Islands that had  
 ' plenty of mammec-trees, and pretty large rivers. They have  
 ' good anchoring in many places, so that take the *Galapagos*  
 ' Islands

\* *Voyage and Description, &c. by Lionel Wafer, p. 191, and seq. London, 1699.*

" *Islands by and large*, they are extraordinary good places for  
 ' ships in distress to seek relief at \*.' CHAP. 16.

1685.

At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

Wafer has not given the date of this visit, which was the second made by Davis to the *Galapagos*; but as he stopped several weeks in the *Gulf of Amapalla* for the recovery of his sick, and afterwards made some stay at *Cocos Island*, it must have been late in the year, if not after the end, when he arrived at the *Galapagos*, and it is probable, during, or immediately after, a rainy season.

The account published by Wafer, excepting what relates to the *Isthmus of Darien*, consists of short notices set down from recollection, and occupying in the whole not above fifty duodecimo pages. He mentions a tree at the Island of the *Galapagos* where they careened, like a pear-tree, ' low and not ' shrubby, very sweet in smell, and full of very sweet gum.'

Davis and Knight took on board their ships 500 packs or sacks of flour from the stores which had formerly been deposited at the *Galapagos*. The birds had devoured some, in consequence of the bags having been left exposed.

From the *Galapagos*, they sailed to the coast of *Peru*, and cruised in company till near the end of 1686. They captured many vessels, which they released after plundering; and attacked several towns along the coast. They had sharp engagements with the Spaniards at *Guasco*, and at *Pisco*, the particulars of which are not related; but they plundered both the towns. They landed also at *La Nasca*, a small port on the coast of *Peru* in latitude about 15° S, at which place they furnished themselves with a stock of wine. Wafer says, ' This is a rich ' strong wine, in taste much like Madeira. It is brought ' down out of the country to be shipped for *Lima* and *Panama*. ' Sometimes it is kept here many years stopped up in jars, of ' about eight gallons each: the jars were under no shelter, but ' exposed

1686.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

Peruvian  
Wine like  
Madeira.

CHAP. 16. 'exposed to the scorching sun, being placed along the bay  
 1686. 'and between the rocks, every merchant having his own wine  
 On the 'marked.' It could not well have been placed more con-  
 Coast of veniently for the Buccaneers.  
 Peru.

They landed at *Coquimbo*, which Wafer describes 'a large  
 'town with nine churches.' What they did there is not said.  
 Wafer mentions a small river that emptied itself in a bay,  
 three miles from the town, in which, up the country, the  
 Spaniards get gold. 'The sands of the river by the sea, and  
 'round the whole Bay, are all bespangled with particles of  
 'gold; insomuch that in travelling along the sandy bays,  
 'our people were covered with a fine gold-dust, but too fine for  
 'any profit, for it would be an endless work to pick it up.'

Statistical accounts of the Viceroyalty of *Peru*, which during  
 a succession of years were printed annually at the end of the  
*Lima Almanack*, notice the towns of *Santa Maria de la Perilla*,  
*Guasca*, *Santiago de Miraflores*, *Cañete*, *Pisco*, *Huara*, and  
*Guayaquil*, being sacked and in part destroyed by pirates, in  
 the years 1685, 1686, and 1687.

At Juan Davis and Knight having made much booty (Lussan says so  
 Fernandez. much that the share of each man amounted to 5000 pieces of  
 eight), they went to the Island *Juan Fernandez* to refit, intending  
 to sail thence for the *West Indies*: but before they had recruited  
 and prepared the ships for the voyage round the South of  
*America*, Fortune made a new distribution of their plunder.  
 Many lost all their money at play, and they could not endure,  
 after so much peril, to quit the *South Sea* empty handed, but  
 resolved to revisit the coast of *Peru*. The more fortunate party  
 embarked with Knight for the *West Indies*.

Knight  
 quits the  
 South Sea.

Davis  
 returns to  
 the Coast  
 of Peru.

The luckless residue, consisting of sixty Englishmen, and  
 twenty Frenchmen, with Edward Davis at their head, remained  
 with the *Batchelor's Delight* to begin their work afresh. They  
 sailed from *Juan Fernandez* for the American coast, which they  
 made

made as far South as the Island *Mocha*. By traffic with the inhabitants, they procured among other provisions, a number of the Llama or Peruvian sheep. Wafer relates, that out of the stomach of one of these sheep he took thirteen Bezoar stones of several forms, 'some resembling coral, some round, and all 'green when first taken out; but by long keeping they turned 'of an ash colour.'

CHAP. 16.

1687.

Coast of  
Peru.  
Bezoar  
Stones.

In latitude 26° S, wanting fresh water, they made search for the River *Copiapo*. They landed and ascended the hills in hopes of discovering it. According to Wafer's computation they went eight miles within the coast, ascending mountain beyond mountain till they were a full mile in perpendicular height above the level of the sea. They found the ground there covered with sand and sea-shells, 'which,' says Wafer, 'I the 'more wondered at, because there were no shell-fish, nor could 'I ever find any shells, on any part of the sea-coast hereabouts, 'though I have looked for them in many places.' They did not discover the river they were in search of; but shortly afterwards, they landed at *Arica*, which they plundered; and at the River *Ylo*, where they took in fresh water. At *Arica* was a house full of Jesuits' bark. Wafer relates, 'We also put ashore at *Vermejo*, in '10° S latitude. I was one of those who landed to see for water. 'We marched about four miles up a sandy bay, which we found 'covered with the bodies of men, women, and children. These 'bodies to appearance, seemed as if they had not been above 'a week dead; but if touched, they proved dry and light as a 'sponge or piece of cork. We were told by an old Spanish 'Indian whom we met, that in his father's time, the soil there, 'which now yielded nothing, was well cultivated and fruitful: 'that the city of *Wormia* had been so numerously inhabited 'with Indians, that they could have handed a fish from hand 'to hand until it had come to the Inca's hand. But that

Marine  
Productions  
found on  
Mountains.

Vermejo.

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C c

' when

CHAP. 16. ' when the Spaniards came and laid siege to their city, the  
 1687. ' Indians, rather than yield to their mercy, dug holes in the  
 Coast of ' sand and buried themselves alive. The men as they now  
 Peru. ' lie, have by them their broken bows; and the women their  
 ' spinning-wheels and distaffs with cotton yarn upon them. Of  
 ' these dead bodies I brought on board a boy of about ten  
 ' years of age with an intent to bring him to *England*; but was  
 ' frustrated of my purpose by the sailors, who had a foolish  
 ' conceit that the compass would not traverse right whilst  
 ' there was a dead body on board, so they threw him over-  
 ' board to my great vexation\*.'

April. Near this part of the coast of *Peru*, in April 1687, Davis had a severe action with a Spanish frigate, named the *Katalina*, in which the drunkenness of his crew gave opportunity to the Spanish Commander, who had made a stout defence, to run his ship ashore upon the coast. They fell in with many other Spanish vessels, which, after plundering, they dismissed.

Shortly after the engagement with the Spanish frigate *Katalina*, Davis made a descent at *Payta*, to seek refreshments for his wounded men, and surprised there a courier with dispatches from the Spanish Commander at *Guayaquil* to the Viceroy at *Lima*, by which he learnt that a large body of English and French Buccaneers had attacked, and were then in possession of, the town of *Guayaquil*. The Governor had been taken prisoner by the Buccaneers, and the Deputy or next in authority, made pressing instances for speedy succour, in his letter to the Viceroy, which, according to Lussan, contained the following passage: '*The time has expired some days which was appointed for the ransom of our prisoners. I amuse the enemy with the hopes of some thousands of pieces of eight, and they have sent me the heads of four of our prisoners: but if they*  
 ' send

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\* *Wufer's Voyages*, p. 208.

‘ send me fifty, I should esteem it less prejudicial than our suffering  
 ‘ these ruffians to live. If your Excellency will hasten the arma-  
 ‘ ment to our assistance, here will be a fair opportunity to rid  
 ‘ ourselves of them.’

CHAP. 16.

1687.

May.

Upon this news, and the farther intelligence that Spanish ships of war had been dispatched from *Callao* to the relief of *Guayaquil*, Davis sailed for that place, and, on May the 14th, arrived in the *Bay of Guayaquil*, where he found many of his old confederates ; for these were the French *Buccaneers* who had separated from him under *Grognet*, and the English who had gone with *Townley*. Those two leaders had been overtaken by the perils of their vocation, and were no more. But whilst in their mortal career, and after their separation from *Davis*, though they had at one time been adverse almost to hostility against each other, they had met, been reconciled, and had associated together. *Townley* died first, of a wound he received in battle, and was succeeded in the command of the English by a *Buccaneer* named *George Hout* or *Hutt*. At the attack of *Guayaquil*, *Grognet* was mortally wounded ; and *Le Picard* was chosen by the French to succeed him in the command. *Guayaquil* was taken on the 20th of April ; the plunder and a number of prisoners had been conveyed by the *Buccaneers* to their ships, which were at anchor by the Island *Puna*, when their unwearied good fortune brought *Davis* to join them.

Davis  
 joins other  
*Buccaneers*  
 at  
*Guayaquil*.

The taking of *Guayaquil* by the *Buccaneers* under *Grognet* and *Hutt* will be more circumstantially noticed in the sequel, with other proceedings of the same crews. When *Davis* joined them, they were waiting with hopes, nearly worn out, of obtaining a large ransom which had been promised them for the town of *Guayaquil*, and for their prisoners.

The information *Davis* had received made him deem it

c c 2

- prudent,



CHAP. 16.

1687.

May.

Near the  
Island  
Puna.

prudent, instead of going to anchor at *Puna*, to remain with his ship on the look-out in the offing; he therefore sent a prize-vessel into the road to acquaint the Buccaneers there of his being near at hand, and that the Spaniards were to be expected shortly.

The captors of *Guayaquil* continued many days after this to wait for ransom. They had some hundreds of prisoners, for whose sakes the Spaniards sent daily to the Buccaneers large supplies of provisions, of which the prisoners could expect to receive only the surplus after the Buccaneers should be satisfied. At length, the Spaniards sent 42,000 pieces of eight, the most part in gold, and eighty packages of flour. The sum was far short of the first agreement, and the Buccaneers at *Puna*, to make suitable return, released only a part of the prisoners, reserving for a subsequent settlement those of the most consideration.

26th.

Meeting  
between  
Spanish  
Ships of  
War  
and the  
Buccaneers.

On the 26th, they quitted the road of *Puna*, and joined Davis. In the evening of the same day, two large Spanish ships came in sight. Davis's ship mounted 36 guns; and her crew, which had been much diminished by different engagements, was immediately reinforced with 80 men from Le Picard's party. Besides Davis's ship, the Buccaneers had only a small ship and a *barca-longa* fit to come into action. Their prize vessels which could do no service, were sent for security into shallow water.

A Sea  
Engage-  
ment of  
seven days.

On the morning of the 27th, the Buccaneers and Spaniards were both without the Island *S<sup>a</sup> Clara*. The Spaniards were the farthest out at sea, and had the sea-breeze first, with which they bore down till about noon, when being just within the reach of cannon-shot, they hauled upon a wind, and began a distant cannonade, which was continued till evening: the two parties

parties then drew off to about a league asunder, and anchored for the night. On the morning of the 28th, they took up their anchors, and the day was spent in distant firing, and in endeavours to gain or to keep the wind of each other. The same kind of manceuvring and distant firing was put in practice on each succeeding day, till the evening of the 2d of June, which completed the seventh day of this obstinate engagement. The Spanish Commander, being then satisfied that he had fought long enough, and hopeless of prevailing on the enemy to yield, withdrew in the night. On the morning of the 3d, the Buccaneers were surprised, and not displeased, at finding no enemy in sight.

CHAP. 16.

1687.

June.

The  
Spaniards  
retire.

During all this fighting, the Buccaneers indulged their vanity by keeping the Governor of *Guayaquil*, and other prisoners of distinction, upon deck, to witness the superiority of their management over that of the Spaniards. It was not indeed a post of much danger, for in the whole seven days battle, not one Buccaneer was killed, and only two or three were wounded.

It may be some apology for the Spanish Commander, that in consequence of Davis's junction with the captors of *Guayaquil*, he found a much greater force to contend with than he had been taught to expect. Fortune had been peculiarly unfavourable to the Spaniards on this occasion. Three ships of force had been equipped and sent in company against the Buccaneers at *Guayaquil*. One of them, the *Katalina*, by accident was separated from the others, and fell in with Davis, by whom she was driven on the coast, where she stranded. The Spanish armament thus weakened one-third, on arriving in the *Bay of Guayaquil*, found the buccaneer force there increased, by this same Davis, in a proportion greater than their own had been diminished.

CHAP. 16. diminished. Davis and Le Picard left the choice of distance to  
 1687. the Spaniards in this meeting, not considering it their business  
 June. to come to serious battle unless forced. They had reason to be  
 At the satisfied with having defended themselves and their plunder;  
 Island and after the enemy disappeared, finding the coast clear, they  
 De la Plata. sailed to the Island *De la Plata*, where they stopped to repair  
 damages, and to hold council.

They all now inclined homewards. The booty they had made, if it fell short of the expectations of some, was sufficient to make them eager to be where they could use or expend it; but they were not alike provided with the means of returning to the *North Sea*. Davis had a stout ship, and he proposed to go the Southern passage by the *Strait of Magalhanes*, or round *Cape Horne*. No other of the vessels in the possession of the Buccaneers was strong enough for such a voyage. All the French therefore, and many of the English Buccaneers, bent their thoughts on returning overland, an undertaking that would inevitably be attended with much difficulty, encumbered as they were with their plunder, and the Darien Indians having become hostile to them.

Almost all the Frenchmen in Davis's ship, left her to join their countrymen, and many of the English from their party embarked with Davis. All thoughts of farther negociation with the Spaniards for the ransom of prisoners, were relinquished. Le Picard had given notice on quitting the *Bay of Guayaquil*, that payment would be expected for the release of the remaining prisoners, and that the Buccaneers would wait for it at *Cape Santa Elena*; but they had passed that *Cape*, and it was apprehended that if they returned thither, instead of receiving ransom, they might find the Spanish ships of war, come to renew the attack on them under other Commanders.

manders. On the 10th, they landed their prisoners on the Continent.

CHAP. 16.

1687.

June.

Division of  
Plunder.

The next day they shared the plunder taken at *Guayaquil*. The jewels and ornaments could not well be divided, nor could their value be estimated to general satisfaction: neither could they agree upon a standard proportion between the value of gold and silver. Every man was desirous to receive for his share such parts of the spoil as were most portable, and this was more especially of importance to those who intended to march overland. The value of gold was so much enhanced that an ounce of gold was received in lieu of eighty dollars, and a Spanish pistole went for fifteen dollars; but these instances probably took place in settling their gaming accounts. In the division of the plunder these difficulties were obviated by a very ingenious and unobjectionable mode of distribution. The silver was first divided: the other articles were then put up to auction, and bid for in pieces of eight; and when all were so disposed of, a second division was made of the silver produced by the sale.

Davis and his company were not present at the taking of *Guayaquil*, but the services they had rendered, had saved both the plunder and the plunderers, and gave them a fair claim to share. Neither Wafer nor Lussan speak to this point, from which it may be inferred that every thing relating to the division was settled among them amicably, and that Davis and his men had no reason to be dissatisfied. Lussan gives a loose statement of the sum total and of the single shares. ‘Notwithstanding that these things were sold so dearly, we shared for the taking of *Guayaquil* only 400 pieces of eight to each man, which would make in the whole about fifteen hundred thousand *livres*.’ The number of Buccaneers with Grognet and

CHAP. 16. and Hutt immediately previous to the attack of *Guayaquil*,  
 1687. was 304. Davis's crew at the time he separated from Knight,  
 June. consisted of eighty men. He had afterwards lost men in  
 several encounters, and it is probable the whole number  
 present at the sharing of the plunder of *Guayaquil* was short  
 of three hundred and fifty. Allowing the extra shares to officers  
 to have been 150, making the whole number of shares 500, the  
 amount of the plunder will fall short of Lussan's estimate.

They  
 separate to  
 return home  
 by different  
 Routes. On the 12th, the two parties finally took leave of each other  
 and separated, bound by different routes for the *Atlantic*.

## CHAP. XVII.

Edward Davis; *his Third visit to the Galapagos. One of those Islands, named Santa Maria de l'Aguada by the Spaniards, a Careening Place of the Buccaneers. Sailing thence Southward they discover Land. Question, whether Edward Davis's Discovery is the Land which was afterwards named Easter Island? Davis and his Crew arrive in the West Indies.*

DAVIS again sailed to the *Galapagos Islands*, to victual and refit his ship. Lionel Wafer was still with him, and appears to have been one of those to whom fortune had been most unpropitious. Wafer does not mention either the joining company with the French Buccaneers, or the plunder of *Guayaquil*; and particularises few of his adventures. He says, 'I shall not pursue all my coasting along the shore of *Peru* with Captain Davis. We continued rambling about to little purpose, sometimes at sea, sometimes ashore, till having spent much time and visited many places, we were got again to the *Galapagos*; from whence we were determined to make the best of our way out of these seas.'

CHAP. 17.

1687.

Davis sails  
to the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

At the *Galapagos* they again careened; and there they victualled the ship, taking on board a large supply of flour, curing fish, salting flesh of the land turtle for sea store; and they saved as much of the oil of the land turtle as filled sixty jars (of eight gallons each) which proved excellent, and was thought not inferior to fresh butter.

Captain Colnet was at the *Galapagos Isles* in the years 1793 and 1794, and found traces, still fresh, which marked the haunts of the Buccaneers. He says, 'At every place where we landed

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D D

' on

CHAP. 17.

1687.

At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.King  
James's  
Island.

‘ on the Western side of *King James's Isle*, we might have  
 ‘ walked for miles through long grass and beneath groves of  
 ‘ trees. It only wanted a stream to compose a very charming  
 ‘ landscape. This Isle appears to have been a favourite resort  
 ‘ of the Buccaneers, as we found seats made by them of earth  
 ‘ and stone, and a considerable number of broken jars scattered  
 ‘ about, and some whole, in which the Peruvian wine and  
 ‘ liquors of the country are preserved. We also found daggers,  
 ‘ nails, and other implements. The watering-place of the  
 ‘ Buccaneers was at this time (the latter part of April or begin-  
 ‘ ning of May) entirely dried up, and there was only found a  
 ‘ small rivulet between two hills running into the sea; the  
 ‘ Northernmost of which hills forms the South point of *Fresh*  
 ‘ *Water Bay*. There is plenty of wood, but that near the shore  
 ‘ is not large enough for other use than fire-wood. In the  
 ‘ mountains the trees may be larger, as they grow to the  
 ‘ summits. I do not think the watering-place we saw is the  
 ‘ only one on the Island, and I have no doubt, if wells were  
 ‘ dug any where beneath the hills, and not near the lagoon  
 ‘ behind the sandy beach, that fresh water would be found in  
 ‘ great plenty \*.’

Since Captain Colnet's Voyage, Captain David Porter of the  
 American United States' frigate *Essex*, has seen and given  
 descriptions of the *Galapagos* Islands. He relates an anecdote  
 which accords with Captain Colnet's opinion of there being  
 fresh water at *King James's Island*. He landed, on its West  
 side, four goats (one male and three female) and some sheep,  
 to graze. As they were tame and of their own accord kept near  
 the landing-place, they were left every night without a keeper,  
 and water was carried to them in the morning. ‘ But one morning,  
 ‘ after they had been on the Island several days and nights,  
 ‘ the

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\* Colnet's *Voyage to the Pacific*, pp. 156-7.

‘ the person who attended them went on shore as usual to give  
 ‘ them water, but no goats were to be found: they had all as  
 ‘ with one accord disappeared. Several persons were sent to  
 ‘ search after them for two or three days, but without success.’  
 Captain Porter concluded that they had found fresh water in  
 the interior of the Island, and chose to remain near it. ‘ One  
 ‘ fact,’ he says, ‘ was noticed by myself and many others, the  
 ‘ day preceding their departure, which must lead us to believe  
 ‘ that something more than chance directed their movements,  
 ‘ which is, that they all drank an unusual quantity of water on  
 ‘ that day, as though they had determined to provide themselves  
 ‘ with a supply to enable them to reach the mountains \*.’

CHAP. 17.  
 1687.  
 At the  
 Galapagos  
 Islands.

Davis and his men had leisure for search and to make every  
 kind of experiment; but no one of his party has given any  
 description or account of what was transacted at the *Galapagos*  
 in this his third visit. Light, however, has been derived from  
 late voyages.

It has been generally believed, but not till lately ascertained,  
 that Davis passed most of the time he was amongst the *Gala-*  
*pagos*, at an Island which the Spaniards have designated by the  
 name of *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada*, concerning the situation of  
 which the Spaniards as well as geographers of other countries  
 have disagreed. A Spanish pilot reported to Captain Woodes  
 Rogers that *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* lay by itself, (i. e. was not one  
 of a groupe of Islands) in latitude 1° 20' or 1° 30' S, was a  
 pleasant Island, well stocked with wood, and with plenty of fresh  
 water †. Moll, DeVaugondy, and others, combining the accounts  
 given

The Island  
*S<sup>a</sup> Maria de*  
*l'Aguada*,  
 a Careening  
 Place of the  
 Buccaneers.

\* *Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the years*  
 1812-13 & 1814.

† *Cruising Voyage round the World, by Captain Woodes Rogers, in the years*  
 1708 to 1711, pp. 211 and 265, 2d edition. London, 1718.



**CHAP. 17.** given by Dampier and Woodes Rogers, have placed a *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* several degrees to the Westward of the whole of Cowley's groupe. Don Antonio de Ulloa, on the contrary, has laid it down as one of the *Galapagos Isles*, but among the most South-eastern of the whole groupe. More consonant with recent information, Pascoe Thomas, who sailed round the world with Commodore Anson, has given from a Spanish manuscript the situations of different Islands of the *Galapagos*, and among them that of *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada*. The most Western in the Spanish list published by Thomas is named *S<sup>a</sup> Margarita*, and is the same with the *Albemarle Island* in Cowley's chart. The *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* is set down in the same Spanish list in latitude  $1^{\circ} 10' S$ , and 19 minutes in longitude more East than the longitude given of *S<sup>a</sup> Margarita*, which situation is due South of Cowley's *King James's Island*.

Captain Colnet saw land due South of *King James's Island*, which he did not anchor at or examine, and appears to have mistaken for the *King Charles's Island* of Cowley's chart. On comparing Captain Colnet's chart with Cowley's, it is evident that Captain Colnet has given the name of *Lord Chatham's Isle* to Cowley's *King Charles's Island*, the bearings and distance from the South end of *Albemarle Island* being the same in both, i. e. due East about 20 leagues. It follows that the *Charles Island* of Colnet's chart was not seen by Cowley, and that it is the *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* of the Spaniards. It has lately been frequented by English and by American vessels employed in the South Sea Whale Fishery, who have found a good harbour on its North side, with wood and fresh water; and marks are yet discoverable that it was formerly a careening place of the buccaneers. Mr. Arrowsmith has added this harbour to Captain Colnet's chart, on the authority of information communicated by the master of a South Sea whaler.

From

From Captain David Porter's Journal, it appears that the watering-place at *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* is three miles distant from any part of the sea-shore ; and that the supply it yields is not constant. On arriving a second time at the *Galapagos*, in the latter part of August, Captain Porter sent a boat on shore to this Island. Captain Porter relates, ' I gave directions that ' our former watering-places there should be examined, but ' was informed that they were entirely dried up.'

CHAP. 17.  
S<sup>a</sup> Maria de  
l'Aguada.

Cowley's chart, being original, a buccaneer performance, and not wholly out of use, is annexed to this account ; with the insertion, in unshaded outline, of the *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada*, according to its situation with respect to *Albemarle Island*, as laid down in the last edition of Captain Colnet's chart, published by Mr. Arrowsmith. This unavoidably makes a difference in the latitude equal to the difference between Cowley's and Captain Colnet's latitude of the South end of *Albemarle Island*. In Captain Colnet's chart, the North end of *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* is laid down in 1° 15' S.

The voyage of the *Essex* gives reasonable expectation of an improved chart of the *Galapagos Isles*, the Rev. Mr. Adams, who sailed as Chaplain in that expedition, having employed himself actively in surveying them.

When the season approached for making the passage round *Cape Horne*, Davis and his company quitted their retreat. The date of their sailing is not given. Wafer relates, ' From the ' *Galapagos Islands* we went again for the Southward, intending ' to touch no where till we came to the Island *Juan Fernandez*. ' In our way thither, being in the latitude of 12° 30' S, and ' about 150 leagues from the main of *America*, about four ' o'clock in the morning, our ship felt a terrible shock, so ' sudden and violent that we took it for granted she had struck ' upon a rock. When the amazement was a little over, we

1687.  
Davis sails  
from the  
*Galapagos*  
to the  
Southward.

' cast

CHAP. 17. ' cast the lead and sounded, but found no ground, so we con-  
 1687. ' cluded it must certainly be some earthquake. The sea, which  
 ' ordinarily looks green, seemed then of a whitish colour; and  
 ' the water which we took up in the buckets for the ship's  
 ' use, we found to be a little mixed with sand. Some time  
 ' after, we heard that at that very time, there was an earth-  
 ' quake at *Callao*, which did mischief both there and at *Lima*.'

Island  
 discovered  
 by  
 Edw. Davis. ' Having recovered our fright, we kept on to the Southward.  
 ' We steered S b E  $\frac{1}{4}$  Easterly, until we came to the latitude  
 ' of  $27^{\circ} 20'$  S, when about two hours before day, we fell in with  
 ' a small low sandy Island, and heard a great roaring noise,  
 ' like that of the sea beating upon the shore, right ahead of  
 ' the ship. Whereupon, fearing to fall foul upon the shore  
 ' before day, the ship was put about. So we plied off till day,  
 ' and then stood in again with the land, which proved to be a  
 ' small flat Island, without the guard of any rocks. We stood  
 ' in within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and could see it  
 ' plainly, for it was a clear morning. To the Westward, about  
 ' twelve leagues by judgement, we saw a range of high land,  
 ' which we took to be Islands, for there were several partitions  
 ' in the prospect. This land seemed to reach about 14 or  
 ' 16 leagues in a range, and there came thence great flocks of  
 ' fowls. I, and many of our men would have made this land,  
 ' and have gone ashore at it, but the Captain would not permit  
 ' us. The small Island bears from *Copiapo* almost due East  
 ' [West was intended] 500 leagues, and from the *Galapagos*  
 ' under the line is distant 600 leagues\*.'

Dampier was not present at this discovery; but he met his  
 old Commander afterwards, and relates information he received  
 concerning it in the following words. ' Captain Davis told me  
 ' lately, that after his departing from us at *Ria Lera*, he went,  
 ' after

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\* *Wafer's Voyages*, p. 214 & seq.

‘ after several traverses, to the *Galapagos*, and that standing  
 ‘ thence Southward for wind to bring him about the *Tierra del*  
 ‘ *Fuego*, in the latitude of 27° S, about 500 leagues from *Copayapo*  
 ‘ on the coast of *Chili*, he saw a small sandy Island just by  
 ‘ him; and that they saw to the Westward of it a long tract  
 ‘ of pretty high land, tending away toward the NW out  
 ‘ of sight \*.’

CHAP. 17.  
 1687.  
 Island  
 discovered  
 by  
 Edw. Davis.

The two preceding paragraphs contain the whole which either in Wafer or Dampier is said concerning this land. The apprehension of being late in the season for the passage round *Cape Horne* seems to have deterred Davis from making examination of his discovery. The latitude and specified distance from *Copiapo* were particulars sufficient to direct future search; and twenty-five years afterwards, Jacob Roggewein, a Dutch navigator, guided by those marks, found land; but it being more distant from the American Continent than stated by Davis or Wafer, Roggewein claimed it as a new discovery. A more convenient place for discussing this point, which has been a lasting subject of dispute among geographers, would be in an account of Roggewein's voyage; but a few remarks here may be satisfactory.

Question  
 whether  
 Edward  
 Davis's  
 Land and  
 Easter  
 Island are  
 the same  
 Land, or  
 different.

Wafer kept neither journal nor reckoning, his profession not being that of a mariner; and from circumstances which occur in Davis's navigation to the *Atlantic*, it may reasonably be doubted whether a regular reckoning or journal was kept by any person on board; and whether the 500 leagues distance of the small Island from the American coast mentioned by Davis and Wafer, was other than a conjectured distance. They had no superior by whom a journal of their proceedings would be required or expected. If a regular journal had really been kept, it would most probably have found its way to the press.

Jacob

\* *Dampier*, Vol. I. Chap. 13, p. 352.

CHAP. 17.  
Question  
concerning  
Davis's  
Land and  
Easter  
Island.

Jacob Roggewein, the Dutch Admiral, was more than any other navigator, willing to give himself the credit of making new discoveries, as the following extracts from the Journal of his expedition will evince. 'We looked for *Hawkins's Maiden Land*, 'but could not find it; but we discovered an Island 200 'leagues in circuit, in latitude 52° S, about 200 leagues distant 'to the East of the coast of *South America*, which we named '*Belgia Austral*.' That is as much as to say, Admiral Roggewein could not find *Hawkins's Maiden Land*; but he discovered land on the same spot, which he named *Belgia Austral*. Afterwards, proceeding in the same disposition, the Journal relates, 'We directed our course from *Juan Fernandez* towards *Davis's Land*, but to the great astonishment of the Admiral (Roggewein) it was not seen. I think we either missed it, or that 'there is no such land. We went on towards the West, and on 'the anniversary of the Resurrection of our Saviour, we came 'in sight of an Island. We named it *Paaschen* or *Oster Eylandt* '(i. e. Easter Island).'

*Paaschen* or *Easter Island* according to modern charts and observations, is nearly 690 leagues distant from *Copiapo*, which is in the same parallel on the Continent of *America*. The statement of Davis and Wafer makes the distance only 512 leagues, which is a difference of 178 leagues. It is not probable that Davis could have had good information of the longitudes of the *Galapagos Islands* and *Copiapo*; but with every allowance, so large an error as 178 leagues in a run of 600 leagues might be thought incredible, if its possibility had not been demonstrated by a much greater being made by the same persons in this same homeward passage; as will be related. In the latitude and appearance of the land, the descriptions of Davis and Wafer are correct, *Easter Island* being a mountainous land, which will make partitions in the distant prospect and appear like a number of Islands.

Roggewein's

Roggewein's claim to *Paaschen* or *Easter Island* as a new discovery has had countenance and support from geographers, some of the first eminence, but has been made a subject of jealous contest, and not of impartial investigation. If Roggewein discovered an Island farther to the West of the American coast than *Davis's Land*, it must follow that Davis's land lies between his discovery and the Continent; but that part of the *South Sea* has been so much explored, that if any high land had existed between *Easter Island* and the American coast, it could not have escaped being known. There is not the least improbability that ships, in making a passage from the *Galapagos Isles* through the South East trade-wind, shall come into the neighbourhood of *Easter Island*.

CHAP. 17.  
Concerning  
Davis's  
Land and  
Easter  
Island.

Edward Davis has generally been thought a native of *England*, but according to Lussan, and nothing appears to the contrary, he was a native of *Holland*. The majority of the Buccaneers in the ship, however, were British. How far to that source may be traced the disposition to refuse the Buccaneers the credit of the discovery, and how much national partialities have contributed to the dispute, may be judged from this circumstance, that *Easter Island* being *Davis's Land* has never been doubted by British geographers, and has been questioned only by those of other nations.

The merit of the discovery is nothing, for the Buccaneers were not in search of land, but came without design in sight of it, and would not look at what they had accidentally found. And whether the discovery is to be attributed to Edward Davis or to his crew, ought to be esteemed of little concern to the nations of which they were natives, seeing the discoverers were men outlawed, and whose acts were disowned by the governments of their countries.

VOL. IV.

E E

Passing

CHAP. 17.  
Concerning  
Davis's  
Land and  
Easter  
Island.

Passing from considerations of claims to consideration of the fact ;—there is not the smallest plea for questioning, nor has any one questioned the truth of the Buccaneers having discovered a high Island West of the American coast, in or near the latitude of 27° S. If different from *Easter Island*, it must be supposed to be situated between that and the Continent. But however much it has been insisted or argued that *Easter Island* is not *Davis's Land*, no chart has yet pretended to shew two separate Islands, one for Edward Davis's discovery, and one for Roggewein's. The one Island known has been in constant requisition for double duty; and must continue so until another Island of the same description shall be found.

1687.  
At the  
Island  
Juan  
Fernandez.

Davis arrived at *Juan Fernandez* 'at the latter end of the year,' and careened there. Since the Buccaneers were last at the Island, the Spaniards had put dogs on shore, for the purpose of killing the goats. Many, however, found places among precipices, where the dogs could not get at them, and the Buccaneers shot as many as served for their daily consumption. Here again, five men of Davis's crew, who had gamed away their money, 'and were unwilling to return out of these seas as poor as they came in,' determined on staying at *Juan Fernandez*, to take the chance of some other buccaneer ship, or privateer, touching at the Island. A canoe, arms, ammunition, and various implements were given to them, with a stock of maize for planting, and some for their immediate subsistence; and each of these gentlemen had a negro attendant landed with him.

From *Juan Fernandez*, Davis sailed to the Islands *Mocha* and *Santa Maria*, near the Continent, where he expected to have procured provisions, but he found both those Islands deserted and laid waste, the Spaniards having obliged the inhabitants to remove, that the Buccaneers might not obtain supply there.

The

The season was advanced, therefore without expending more time in searching for provisions, they bent their course Southward. They passed round *Cape Horne* without seeing land, but fell in with many Islands of ice, and ran so far Eastward before they ventured to steer a Northerly course, that afterwards, when, in the parallel of the *River de la Plata*, they steered Westward to make the American coast, which they believed to be only one hundred leagues distant, they sailed 'four hundred and fifty' leagues to the West in the same latitude,\* before they came in sight of land ; whence many began to apprehend they were still in the *South Sea* \*, and this belief would have gained ground, if a flight of locusts had not alighted on the ship, which a strong flurry of wind had blown off from the American coast.

CHAP. 17.  
1688.

They arrived in the *West Indies* in the spring of the year 1688, at a time when a proclamation had recently been issued, offering the King's pardon to all Buccaneers who would quit that way of life, and claim the benefit of the proclamation.

Davis sails  
to the  
West Indies.

It was not the least of fortune's favours to this crew of Buccaneers, that they should find it in their power, without any care or forethought of their own, to terminate a long course of piratical adventures in quietness and security. Edward Davis was afterwards in *England*, as appears by the notice given of his discovery by William Dampier, who mentions him always with peculiar respect. Though a Buccaneer, he was a man of much sterling worth ; being an excellent Commander, courageous, never rash, and endued in a superior degree with prudence, moderation, and steadiness ; qualities in which the Buccaneers generally have been most deficient. His character is not stained with acts of cruelty ; on the contrary, wherever he commanded, he restrained the ferocity of his companions. It is

no

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\* *Wafer's Voyages*, p. 220.



CHAP. 17.  
1688. no small testimony of his abilities that the whole of the Buccaneers in the *South Sea* during his time, in every enterprise wherein he bore part, voluntarily placed themselves under his guidance, and paid him obedience as their leader ; and no symptom occurs of their having at any time wavered in this respect, or shewn inclination to set up a rival authority. It may almost be said, that the only matter in which they were not capricious was their confidence in his management ; and in it they found their advantage, if not their preservation.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Adventures of Swan and Townley on the Coast of New Spain,  
until their Separation.*

THE South Sea adventures of the buccancer Chief Davis being brought to a conclusion, the next related will be those of Swan and his crew in the *Cygnets*, they being the first of the Buccancers who after the battle in the *Bay of Panama* left the *South Sea*. William Dampier who was in Swan's ship, kept a Journal of their proceedings, which is published, and the manuscript also has been preserved.

CHAP. 18.  
Swan  
and  
Townley.

Swan and Townley, the reader may recollect, were left by Edward Davis in the harbour of *Ria Lexa*, in the latter part of August 1685, and had agreed to keep company together Westward towards the entrance of the *Gulf of California*.

1685.  
August.

They remained at *Ria Lexa* some days longer to take in fresh water, 'such as it was,' and they experienced from it the same bad effects which it had on Davis's men; for, joined to the unwholesomeness of the place, it produced a malignant fever, by which several were carried off.

Bad Water,  
and Unheal-  
thiness of  
*Ria Lexa*.

On September the 3d, they put to sea, four sail in company, i. e. the *Cygnets*, Townley's ship, and two tenders; the total of the crews being 340 men.

September.  
On the  
Coast of  
New Spain.

The season was not favourable for getting Westward along this coast. Westerly winds were prevalent, and scarcely a day passed without one or two violent tornadoes, which were accompanied with frightful flashes of lightning, and claps of thunder, 'the like,' says Dampier, 'I did never meet with before nor since.' These tornadoes generally came out of the

Tornadoes.

**CHAP. 18.** the NE, very fierce, and did not last long. When the tornado  
 1685. was passed, the wind again settled Westward. On account of  
 September. these storms, Swan and Townley kept a large offing; but  
 On the towards the end of the month, the weather became settled.  
 Coast of  
 New Spain. On the 24th, Townley, and 106 men in nine canoes, went  
 on Westward, whilst the ships lay by two days with furled sails,  
 to give them time to get well forward, by which they would  
 come the more unexpectedly upon any place along the coast.

October. Townley proceeded, without finding harbour or inlet, to the  
 Bay of *Tecuan-tepeque*, where putting ashore at a sandy beach,  
 the canoes were all overset by the surf, one man drowned, and  
 some muskets lost. Townley however drew the canoes up dry,  
 and marched into the country; but notwithstanding that they  
 had not discovered any inlet on the coast, they found the country  
 intersected with great creeks not fordable, and were forced  
 to return to their canoes. A body of Spaniards and Indians  
 came to reconnoitre them, from the town of *Tecuan-tepeque*, to  
 seek which place was the chief purpose of the Buccaneers when  
 they landed. 'The Spanish books,' says Dampier, 'mention  
 ' a large river there, but whether it was run away at this time,  
 ' or rather that Captain Townley and his men were shortsighted,  
 ' I know not; but they did not find it.'

October the 2d, the canoes returned to the ships. The wind  
 was fresh and fair from the ENE, and they sailed Westward,  
 keeping within short distance of the shore, but found neither  
 harbour nor opening. They had soundings all the way, the  
 depth being 21 fathoms, a coarse sandy bottom, at eight miles  
 distance from the land. Having run about 20 leagues along  
 the coast, they came to a small high Island called *Tangola*, on  
 which they found wood and water; and near it, good anchorage.  
 ' This Island is about a league distant from the main, which  
 ' is pretty high, and savannah land by the sea; but within land  
 ' it

Island  
 Tangola.

‘ it is higher and woody.’——‘ We coasted a league farther,  
 ‘ and came to *Guatulco*, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 30'$ , which is one of the  
 ‘ best ports in this Kingdom of *Mexico*. Near a mile from the  
 ‘ mouth of the harbour, on the East side, is a little Island close  
 ‘ by the main-land. On the West side of the mouth of the  
 ‘ harbour, is a great hollow rock, which by the continual work-  
 ‘ ing of the sea in and out, makes a great noise, and may be  
 ‘ heard a great way; every surge that comes in, forces the  
 ‘ water out at a little hole at the top, as out of a pipe, from  
 ‘ whence it flies out just like the blowing of a whale, to which  
 ‘ the Spaniards liken it, and call it *El Buffadore*. Even at the  
 ‘ calmest seasons, the beating of the sea makes the water spout  
 ‘ out at the hole, so that this is always a good mark to find  
 ‘ the harbour of *Guatulco* by. The harbour runs in NW, is  
 ‘ about three miles deep, and one mile broad. The West side  
 ‘ of the harbour is the best for small ships to ride in: any  
 ‘ where else you are open to SW winds, which often blow here.  
 ‘ There is clean ground any where, and good gradual soundings  
 ‘ from 16 to 6 fathoms: it is bounded by a smooth sandy shore,  
 ‘ good for landing; and at the bottom of the harbour is a fine  
 ‘ brook of fresh water running into the sea. The country  
 ‘ is extraordinary pleasant and delightful to behold at a  
 ‘ distance \*.’

CHAP. 18.

1685.

October.

Guatulco.

El Buffadore,  
a spouting  
Rock.The  
Harbour of  
Guatulco.

There appeared to be so few inhabitants at this part of the coast, that the Buccaneers were not afraid to land their sick. A party of men went Eastward to seek for houses and inhabitants, and at a league distance from *Guatulco* they found a river, named by the Spaniards *El Capalita*, which had a swift current, and was deep at the entrance. They took a few Indians prisoners, but learnt nothing of the country from them. On the 6th, Townley with 140 men marched fourteen miles inland, and in all that way  
 found

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\* *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 8.

CHAP. 18.

1685.

October.

Vinello,  
or Vanilla,  
a Plant.

found only one small Indian village, the inhabitants of which cultivated and cured a plant called *Vinello*, which grows on a vine, and is used to perfume chocolate, and sometimes tobacco.

Island  
Sacrificio.

The 10th, the canoes were sent Westward; and on the 12th, the ships followed, the crews being well recovered of the *Ria Lera* fever. 'The coast (from *Guatulco*) lies along West and a little Southerly for 20 or 30 leagues\*.' On account of a current which set Eastward, they anchored near a small green Island named *Sacrificio*, about a league to the West of *Guatulco*, and half a mile from the main. In the channel between, was five or six fathoms depth, and the tide ran there very swift.

Port  
de Angeles.

They advanced Westward; but slowly. The canoes were again overset in attempting to land near *Port de Angeles*, at a place where cattle were seen feeding, and another man was drowned. Dampier says, 'We were at this time abreast of *Port de Angeles*, but those who had gone in the canoes did not know it, because the Spaniards describe it to be as good a harbour as *Guatulco*. It is a broad open bay with two or three rocks at the West side. There is good anchorage all over the bay in depth from 30 to 12 fathoms, but you are open to all winds till you come into 12 fathoms, and then you are sheltered from the WSW, which is here the common trade-wind. Here always is a great swell, and landing is bad. The place of landing is close by the West side, behind a few rocks. Latitude 15° N. The tide rises about five feet. The land round *Port de Angeles* is pretty high, the earth sandy and yellow, in some places red.' The Buccaneers landed at *Port de Angeles*, and supplied themselves with cattle, hogs, poultry, maize, and salt; and a large party of them remained feasting three days at a farm-house. The 27th, they sailed on Westward.

Some

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\* Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 9.

Some of their canoes in seeking *Port de Angeles* had been as far Westward as *Acapulco*. In their way back, they found a river, into which they went, and filled fresh water. Afterwards, they entered a *lagune* or lake of salt water, where fishermen had cured, and stored up fish, of which the Buccaneers took away a quantity.

CHAP. 18.  
1685.  
October.  
Coast of  
New Spain.

On the evening of the 27th, *Swan* and *Townley* anchored in 16 fathoms depth, near a small rocky Island, six leagues Westward of *Port de Angeles*, and about half a mile distant from the main land. The next day they sailed on, and in the night of the 28th, being abreast the lagune above mentioned, a canoe manned with twelve men was sent to bring off more of the fish. The entrance into the lagune was not more than pistol-shot wide, and on each side were rocks, high enough and convenient to screen or conceal men. The Spaniards having more expectation of this second visit than they had of the first, a party of them, provided with muskets, took station behind these rocks. They waited patiently till the canoe of the Buccaneers was fairly within the lagune, and then fired their volley, and wounded five men. The buccaneer crew were not a little surprised, yet returned the fire ; but not daring to repass the narrow entrance, they rowed to the middle of the lagune, where they lay out of the reach of shot. There was no other passage out but the one by which they had entered, which besides being so narrow was a quarter of a mile in length, and it was too desperate an undertaking to attempt to repass it. Not knowing what else to do, they lay still two whole days and three nights in hopes of relief from the ships.

Adventure  
in a  
Lagune.

It was not an uncommon circumstance among the Buccaneers, for parties sent away on any particular design, to undertake some new adventure ; the long absence of the canoe therefore created little surprise in the ships, which lay off at sea

VOL. IV.

F F

waiting

- CHAP. 18.** waiting without solicitude for her return ; till Townley's ship  
 1685. happening to stand nearer to the shore than the rest, heard  
 November. muskets fired in the lagune. He then sent a strong party in his  
 Coast of canoes, which obliged the Spaniards to retreat from the rocks,  
 New Spain. and leave the passage free for the hitherto penned-up Bucca-  
 neers. Dampier gives the latitude of this lagune, 'about  
 16° 40' N.'
- Alcatraz** They coasted on Westward, with fair weather, and a current  
**Rock.** setting to the West. On November the 2d, they passed a rock  
 called by the Spaniards the *Alcatraz* (Pelican.) 'Five or six  
**White** ' miles to the West of the rock are seven or eight white cliffs,  
**Cliffs.** ' which are remarkable, because there are none other so white  
 ' and so thick together on all the coast. A dangerous shoal  
 ' lies S bW from these cliffs, four or five miles off at sea. Two  
**River to the** ' leagues to the West of these cliffs is a pretty large river, which  
**West of** ' forms a small Island at its mouth. The channel on the East  
**the Cliffs.** ' side is shoal and sandy ; the West channel is deep enough for  
 ' canoes to enter.' The Spaniards had raised a breastwork on  
 the banks of this channel, and they made a show of resisting  
 the Buccaneers ; but seeing they were determined on landing,  
 they quitted the place ; on which Dampier honestly remarks,  
 ' One chief reason why the Spaniards are so frequently routed  
 ' by us, though much our superiors in number, is, their want of  
 ' fire-arms ; for they have but few unless near their large  
 ' garrisons.'
- Snook,** A large quantity of salt intended for salting the fish caught  
**a Fish.** in the lagune, was taken here. Dampier says, 'The fish in  
 ' these lagunes were of a kind called Snooks, which are neither  
 ' sea-fish nor fresh-water fish ; it is about a foot long, round, and  
 ' as thick as the small of a man's leg, has a pretty long head,  
 ' whitish scales, and is good meat.'
- A Mulatto whom they took prisoner told them that a ship  
 of

of twenty guns had lately arrived at *Acapulco* from *Lima*. CHAP. 18.  
 Townley and his crew had long been dissatisfied with their ship; 1685.  
 and in hopes of getting a better, they stood towards the har- November.  
 bour of *Acapulco*. On the 7th, they made the high land over 7th.  
*Acapulco*, 'which is remarkable by a round hill standing High Land  
 ' between two other hills, both higher, the Westernmost of of  
 ' which is the biggest and the highest, and has two hillocks Acapulco.  
 ' like two paps at the top.' Dampier gives the latitude of  
*Acapulco* 17° N\*.

This was not near the usual time either of the departure or of the arrival of the Manila ships, and except at those times, *Acapulco* is almost deserted on account of the situation being unhealthy. *Acapulco* is described hot, unwholesome, pestered with gnats, and having nothing good but the harbour. Merchants depart from it as soon as they have transacted their business. Townley accordingly expected to bring off the *Lima* ship quietly, and with little trouble. In the evening of the 7th, the ships being then so far from land that they could not be descried, Townley with 140 men departed in twelve canoes for the harbour of *Acapulco*. They did not reach *Port Marques* till the second night; and on the third night they rowed softly and unperceived by the Spaniards into *Acapulco Harbour*. They found the *Lima* ship moored close to the castle, and, after reconnoitring, thought it would not be in their power to bring her off; so they paddled back quietly out of the harbour, and returned to their ships, tired and disappointed.

Westward from the Port of *Acapulco*, they passed a sandy bay or beach above twenty leagues in length, the sea all the way

Sandy  
Beach,  
West of  
*Acapulco*.

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\* Late Observations place *Acapulco* in latitude 16° 50' 41" N, and longitude 100° 0' West of Greenwich.



CHAP. 18. way beating with such force on the shore that a boat could not  
 1685. approach with safety. ' There was clean anchoring ground at  
 November. ' a mile or two from the shore. At the West end of this Bay,  
 Hill of ' in 17° 30' N, is the Hill of *Petaplan*, which is a round point  
 Petaplan. ' stretching out into the sea, and at a distance seems an Island \*.' This was reckoned twenty-five leagues from *Acapulco*. A little to the West of the hill are several round white rocks. They sailed within the rocks, having 11 fathoms depth, and anchored on the NW side of the hill. Their Mosquito men took here some small turtle and small jew-fish.

They landed, and at an Indian village took a Mulatto woman and her children, whom they carried on board. They learnt from her that a caravan drawn by mules was going with flour and other goods to *Acapulco*, but that the carrier had stopped on the road from apprehension of the Buccaneers.

Chequetan. The ships weighed their anchors, and ran about two leagues farther Westward, to a place called *Chequetan*, which Dampier thus describes : ' A mile and a half from the shore is a small ' Key (or Island) and within it is a very good harbour, where ' ships may careen : here is also a small river of fresh water, ' and wood enough.'

14th. On the 14th, in the morning, about a hundred Buccaneers set off in search of the carrier, taking the woman prisoner for a guide. They landed a league to the West of *Chequetan*, at a place called *Estapa*, and their conductress led them through a wood, by the side of a river, about a league, which brought them to a savannah full of cattle ; and here at a farm-house the carrier and his mules were lodged. He had 40 packs of flour, some chocolate, small cheeses, and earthenware. The eatables, with the addition of eighteen beeves which they killed,

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\* *Dampier.*

killed, the Buccaneers laid on the backs of above fifty mules which were at hand, and drove them to their boats. A present of clothes was made to the woman, and she, with two of her children, were set at liberty; but the other child, a boy seven or eight years old, Swan kept, against the earnest intreaties of the mother. Dampier says, 'Captain Swan promised her to 'make much of him, and was as good as his word. He proved 'afterwards a fine boy for wit, courage, and dexterity.'

CHAP. 18.

1685.

November.

Coast of  
New Spain.

They proceeded Westward along the coast, which was high land full of ragged hills, but with pleasant and fruitful vallies between. 'The 25th, they were abreast a hill, 'which towered 'above his fellows, and was divided in the top, making two 'small parts. It is in latitude 18° 8' N. The Spaniards mention a town called *Thelupan* near this hill.'

21st.

Hill of  
Thelupan.

The 26th, the Captains Swan and Townley went in the canoes with 200 men, to seek the city of *Colima*, which was reported to be a rich place: but their search was fruitless. They rowed 20 leagues along shore, and found no good place for landing; neither did they see house or inhabitant, although they passed by a fine valley, called the *Valley of Maguella*, except that towards the end of their expedition, they saw a horseman, who they supposed had been stationed as a sentinel, for he rode off immediately on their appearance. They landed with difficulty, and followed the track of the horse on the sand, but lost it in the woods.

On the 28th, they saw the Volcano of *Colima*, which is in about 18° 36' N latitude, five or six leagues from the sea, and appears with two sharp 'points, from each of which issued flames or smoke. The *Valley of Colima* is ten or twelve leagues wide by the sea: it abounds in cacao-gardens, fields of corn, and plantain walks. The coast is a sandy shore, on which the waves beat with violence. Eastward of the Valley the land is woody.

28th.

Volcano of  
Colima.Valley of  
Colima.

A river

CHAP. 18. A river ran here into the sea, with a shoal or bar at its entrance,  
 1685. which boats could not pass. On the West side of the river was  
 December. savannah land.

Salagua. December the 1st, they were near the Port of *Salagua*, which  
 Dampier reckoned in latitude 18° 52' N. He says, 'it is only  
 ' a pretty deep bay, divided in the middle with a rocky point,  
 ' which makes, as it were, two harbours\*. Ships may ride  
 ' secure in either, but the West harbour is the best: the depth  
 ' of water is 10 or 12 fathom, and a brook of fresh water runs  
 ' into the sea there.'

Report of Two hundred Buccaneers landed at *Salagua*, and finding a  
 a great broad road which led inland, they followed it about four leagues,  
 City named over a dry stony country, much overgrown with short wood,  
 Oarrah. without seeing habitation or inhabitant; but in their return, they  
 met and took prisoners two Mulattoes, who informed them that  
 the road they had been travelling led to a great city called  
*Oarrah*, which was distant as far as a horse will travel in four  
 days; and that there was no place of consequence nearer. The  
 same prisoner said the *Manila* ship was daily expected to stop  
 at this part of the coast to land passengers; for that the arrival  
 of the ships at *Acapulco* from the *Philippines* commonly hap-  
 pened about Christmas, and scarcely ever more than eight or  
 ten days before or after.

Swan and Townley sailed on for *Cape Corrientes*. Many  
 among the crews were at this time taken ill with a fever and  
 ague, which left the patients dropsical. Dampier says, the dropsy  
 is a disease very common on this coast. He was one of the  
 sufferers, and continued ill a long time; and several died of it.

The Land The coast Southward of *Cape Corrientes*, is of moderate  
 near Cape height, and full of white cliffs. The inland country is high and  
 Corrientes. barren, with sharp peaked hills. Northward of this rugged land,

is

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\* See Chart in Spilbergen's Voyage.

is a chain of mountains which terminates Eastward with a high steep mountain, which has three sharp peaks and resembles a crown; and is therefore called by the Spaniards *Coronada*. On the 11th they came in sight of *Cape Corrientes*. When the *Cape* bore NbW, the *Coronada* mountain bore ENE\*.

CHAP. 18.

1685.

December.

11th.  
Coronada  
Hills.Cape  
Corrientes.

On arriving off *Cape Corrientes*, the buccancer vessels spread, for the advantage of enlarging their lookout, the *Cygnets* taking the outer station at about ten leagues distance from the *Cape*. Provisions however soon became scarce, on which account Townley's tender and some of the canoes were sent to the land to seek a supply. The canoes rowed up along shore against a Northerly wind to the *Bay de Vanderas*; but the bark could not get round *Cape Corrientes*. On the 18th, Townley complained he wanted fresh water, whereupon the ships quitted their station near the *Cape*, and sailed to some small Islands called the *Keys of Chametly*, which are situated to the SE of *Cape Corrientes*, to take in fresh water.

18th.

The descriptions of the coast of *New Spain* given by Dampier, in his account of his voyage with the *Buccaneers*, contain many particulars of importance which are not to be found in any other publication. Dampier's manuscript and the printed Narrative frequently differ, and it is sometimes apparent that the difference is not the effect of inadvertence, or mistake in the press, but that it was intended as a correction from a reconsideration of the subject. The printed Narrative says at this part, 'These *Keys or Islands of Chametly* are about 16 or 18 leagues to the Eastward of *Cape Corrientes*. They are small, low, woody, and environed with rocks. There are five of them lying in the form of a half moon, not a mile from the shore of the main, and between them and the main land

Keys or  
Islands of  
Chametly.

' is

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\* Dampier's Manuscript Journal.

CHAP. 18. 'is very good riding secure from any wind \*.' In the manuscript it is said, 'the Islands *Chametly* make a secure port.

1685. 'They lie eight or nine leagues from *Port Navidad*.'

December.

Keys or  
Islands of  
*Chametly*;

It is necessary to explain that Dampier, in describing his navigation along the coast of *New Spain*, uses the terms Eastward and Westward, not according to the precise meaning of the words, but to signify being more or less advanced along the coast from the *Bay of Panama*. By Westward, he invariably means more advanced towards the *Gulf of California*; by Eastward, the contrary.

Form a  
convenient  
Port.

The ships entered within the *Chametly Islands* by the channel at the SE end, and anchored in five fathoms depth, on a bottom of clean sand. They found there good fresh water and wood, and caught plenty of rock-fish with hook and line. No inhabitants were seen, but there were huts, made for the temporary convenience of fishermen who occasionally went there to fish for the inhabitants of the city of *La Purificacion*. These Islands, forming a commodious port affording fresh water and other conveniencies, from the smallness of their size are not made visible in the Spanish charts of the coast of *New Spain* in present use†. Whilst the ships watered at the *Keys* or *Isles of Chametly*, a party was sent to forage on the main land, whence they carried off about 40 bushels of maize.

On the 22d, they left the *Keys of Chametly*, and returned to their cruising station off *Cape Corrientes*, where they were rejoined by the canoes which had been to the *Bay de Vanderas*. Thirty-seven men had landed there from the canoes, who went three miles into the country, where they encountered a body of Spaniards, consisting both of horse and foot. The Buccaneers

took

\* Dampier, Vol. I, p. 257.

† In some old manuscript Spanish Charts, the *Chametly Isles* are laid down SE of about 12 leagues distant from *Cape Corrientes*.

took benefit of a small wood for shelter against the attack of the horse, yet the Spaniards rode in among them; but the Spanish Captain and some of their foremost men being killed, the rest retreated. Four of the Buccaneers were killed, and two desperately wounded. The Spanish infantry were more numerous than the horse, but they did not join in the attack, because they were armed only with lances and swords; 'nevertheless,' says Dampier, 'if they had come in, they would certainly have destroyed all our men.' The Buccaneers conveyed their two wounded men to the water side on horses, one of which, when they arrived at their canoes, they killed and drest; not daring to venture into the savannah for a bullock, though they saw many grazing.

CRAP. 18.  
1685.  
December.

Swan and Townley preserved their station off *Cape Corrientes* only till the 1st of January, 1686, when their crews became impatient for fresh meat, and they stood into the *Bay de Vanderas*, to hunt for beef. The depth of water in this Bay is very great, and the ships were obliged to anchor in 60 fathoms.

1686.  
January.  
Bay de  
Vanderas.

'The *Valley of Vanderas* is about three leagues wide, with a sandy bay against the sea, and smooth landing. In the midst of this bay (or beach) is a fine river, into which boats may enter; but it is brackish at the latter part of the dry season, which is in March, and part of April. The Valley is enriched with fruitful savannahs, mixed with groves of trees fit for any use; and fruit-trees grow wild in such plenty as if nature designed this place only for a garden. The savannahs are full of fat bulls and cows, and horses; but no house was in sight.'

Valley of  
Vanderas.

Here they remained hunting beeves, till the 7th of the month. Two hundred and forty men landed every day, sixty of whom were stationed as a guard, whilst the rest pursued the cattle; the Spaniards all the time appearing in large companies on

- CHAP. 18. the nearest hills. The Buccaneers killed and salted meat sufficient to serve them two months, which expended all their salt.
1686. Whilst they were thus occupied in the pleasant valley of
- January. *Vanderas*, the galeon from *Manila* sailed past *Cape Corrientes*, and pursued her course in safety to *Acapulco*. This they learnt afterwards from prisoners; but it was by no means unexpected: on the contrary, they were in general so fully persuaded it would be the consequence of their going into the *Bay de Vanderas*, that they gave up all intention of cruising for her afterwards.
- Swan and Townley part company. The main object for which Townley had gone thus far Northward being disposed of, he and his crew resolved to return Southward. Some Darien Indians had remained to this time with Swan: they were now committed to the care of Townley, and the two ships broke off consortship, and parted company.

## C H A P. XIX.

*The Cygnet and her Crew on the Coast of Nueva Galicia, and at the Tres Marias Islands.*

SWAN and his crew determined before they quitted the American coast, to visit some Spanish towns farther North, in the neighbourhood of rich mines, where they hoped to find good plunder, and to increase their stock of provisions for the passage across the *Pacific* to *India*.

January the 7th, the *Cygnet* and her tender sailed from the *Valley of Vanderas*, and before night, passed *Point Ponteque*, the Northern point of the *Vanderas Bay*. *Point Ponteque* is high, round, rocky, and barren: at a distance it makes like an Island. Dampier reckoned it 10 leagues distant, in a direction N 20° W, from *Cape Corrientes*; the variation of the compass observed near the *Cape* being 4° 28' Easterly\*.

A league West from *Point Ponteque* are two small barren Islands, round which lie scattered several high, sharp, white rocks. The *Cygnet* passed on the East side of the two Islands, the channel between them and *Point Ponteque* appearing clear of danger. 'The sea-coast beyond *Point Ponteque* runs in NE, ' all ragged land, and afterwards out again NNW, making ' many ragged points, with small sandy bays between. The ' land by the sea is low and woody; but the inland country is ' full of high, sharp, rugged, and barren hills.'

Along this coast they had light sea and land breezes, and fair weather. They anchored every evening, and got under sail in

CHAP. 19.

1686.

January.

Coast of  
Nuevo  
Galicia.Point  
Ponteque.

\* According to Captain Vancouver, *Point Ponteque* and *Cape Corrientes* are nearly North and South of each other. Dampier was nearest in-shore.



CHAP. 19. in the morning with the land-wind. On the 14th, they had sight  
 1686. of a small white rock, which had resemblance to a ship under  
 January. sail. Dampier gives its latitude  $21^{\circ} 51' N$ , and its distance  
 14th. from *Cape Corrientes* 34 leagues. It is three leagues from the  
 White main, with depth in the channel, near the Island, twelve or  
 Rock, 21° 51' N. fourteen fathoms.

15th. The 15th, at noon, the latitude was  $22^{\circ} 11' N$ . The coast  
 16th. here lay in a NNW direction. The 16th, they steered 'NNW  
 as the land runs.' At noon the latitude was  $22^{\circ} 41' N$ . The  
 coast was sandy and shelving, with soundings at six fathoms  
 depth a league distant. The sea set heavy on the shore. They  
 caught here many cat-fish.

20th. On the 20th, they anchored a league to the East of a small  
 Chametlan groupe of Isles, named the *Chametlan Isles*, after the name  
 Isles, of the District or Captainship (*Alcaldia mayor*) in the province  
 23° 11' N. of *Culiacan*, opposite to which they are situated. Dampier calls  
 them the *Isles of Chametly*, 'different from the *Isles* or *Keys* of  
 ' *Chametly* at which we had before anchored. These are six  
 ' small Islands in latitude  $23^{\circ} 11' N$ , about three leagues distant  
 ' from the main-land \*, where a salt lake has its outlet into  
 ' the sea. Their meridian distance from *Cape Corrientes* is  
 ' 23 leagues [West.] The coast here, and for about ten leagues  
 ' before coming abreast these Islands, lies NW and SE.'

The On the *Chametlan Isles* they found guanoes, and seals; and  
 Penguin a fruit of a sharp pleasant taste, by Dampier called the Pen-  
 Fruit. guin fruit, 'of a kind which grows so abundantly in the *Bay*  
*of Campeachy* that there is no passing for their high prickly  
 leaves.'

Rio de Sal, In the main-land, six or seven leagues NNW from the *Isles*  
 and of *Chametlan*, is a narrow opening into a *lagune*, with depth of  
 Salt-water water sufficient for boats to enter. This *lagune* extends along  
 Lagune, the  
 23° 30' N.

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\* The Manuscript says, the furthest of the *Chametlan Isles* from the main-land  
 is not more than four miles distant.

the back of the sea-beach about 12 leagues, and makes many low Mangrove Islands. The latitude given of the entrance above-mentioned is  $23^{\circ} 30'$  N, and it is called by the Spaniards *Rio de Sal*.

CHAP. 19.

1686.

January.

Coast of  
Nueva  
Galicia.

Half a degree Northward of *Rio de Sal* was said to be the River *Culiacan*, with a rich Spanish town of the same name. Swan went with the canoes in search of it, and followed the coast 30 leagues from abreast the *Chametlan Isles*, without finding any river to the North of the *Rio de Sal*. All the coast was low and sandy, and the sea beat high on the shore. The ships did not go farther within the *Gulf* than to  $23^{\circ} 45'$  N, in which latitude, on the 30th, they anchored in eight fathoms depth, three miles distant from the main-land; the meridian distance from *Cape Corrientes* being 34 leagues West, by Dampier's reckoning.

30th.

In their return Southward, Swan with the canoes, entered the *Rio de Sal Lagune*, and at an *estancian* on the Western side, they took the owner prisoner. They found in his house a few bushels of maize; but the cattle had been driven out of their reach. Dampier relates, 'The old Spanish gentleman who was taken at the *Estancian* near the *Rio de Sal* was a very intelligent person. He had been a great traveller in the kingdom of *Mexico*, and spoke the Mexican language very well. He said it is a copious language, and much esteemed by the Spanish gentry in those parts, and of great use all over the kingdom; and that many Indian languages had some dependency on it.'

The  
Mexican,  
a copious  
Language.

The town of *Mazatlan* was within 5 leagues of the NE part of the *lagune*, and Swan with 150 men went thither. The inhabitants wounded some of the Buccaneers with arrows, but could make no effectual resistance. There were rich mines near *Mazatlan*, and the Spaniards of *Compostella*, which is the chief town in this district,

Mazatlan.

- CHAP. 19. district, kept slaves at work in them. The Buccaneers however  
 1686. found no gold here, but carried off some Indian corn.
- February 2d. February the 2d, the canoes went to an Indian town called  
 Rosario, an Indian Town. *Rosario*, situated on the banks of a river and nine miles within  
 its entrance. ‘*Rosario* was a fine little town of 60 or 70 houses,  
 with a good church.’ The river produced gold, and mines  
 were in the neighbourhood; but here, as at *Mazatlan*, they got  
 no other booty than Indian corn, of which they conveyed to  
 their ships between 80 and 90 bushels.
- 3d. On the 3d, the ships anchored near the *River Rosario* in seven  
 River Rosario, 22° 51' N. fathoms oozy ground, a league from the shore; the latitude of  
 the entrance of the river 22° 51' N. A small distance within the  
 Sugar-loaf Hill. coast and bearing NE b N from the ship, was a round hill like  
 a sugar-loaf; and North Westward of that hill, was another  
 Caput Cavalli. ‘pretty long hill,’ called *Caput Cavalli*, or the *Horse's Head*.
- 8th. On the 8th, the canoes were sent to search for a river named  
 the *Oleta*, which was understood to lie in latitude 22° 27' N;  
 but the weather proving foggy they could not find it.
- 11th. On the 11th, they anchored abreast the South point of the  
 entrance of a river called the *River de Santiago*, in seven  
 fathoms soft oozy bottom, about two miles from the shore; a  
 Maxentelbo Rock. high white rock, called *Maxentelbo*, bore from their anchorage  
 WNW, distant about three leagues, and a high hill in the  
 Hill of Xalisco. country, with a saddle or bending, called the *Hill Xalisco*;  
 bore SE. ‘The *River St. Iago* is in latitude 22° 15' N, the  
 River of Santiago, 22° 15' N. ‘entrance lies East and West with the *Rock Maxentelbo*. It is  
 ‘one of the principal rivers on this coast: there is ten feet  
 ‘water on the bar at low water; but how much the tide rises  
 ‘and falls, was not observed. The mouth of the river is nearly  
 ‘half a mile broad, with very smooth entering. Within the  
 ‘entrance it widens, for three or four rivers meet there, and issue  
 ‘all out together. The water is brackish a great way up; but  
 ‘fresh

\* fresh water is to be had by digging two or three feet deep in  
 ' a sandy bay just at the mouth of the river. Northward of the  
 ' entrance, and NEb E from *Marentelbo*, is a round white rock.'

CHAP. 19.

1686.

February.

Coast of  
Nueva  
Galicia.River of  
Santiago.

' Between the latitudes  $22^{\circ} 41'$  and  $22^{\circ} 10' N$ , which includes  
 ' the *River de Santiago*, the coast lies NNW and SSE \*.'

No inhabitants were seen near the entrance of the *River St. Iago*, but the country had a fruitful appearance, and Swan sent seventy men in four canoes up the river, to seek for some town or village. After two days spent in examining different creeks and rivers, they came to a field of maize which was nearly ripe, and immediately began to gather; but whilst they were loading the canoes, they saw an Indian, whom they caught, and from him they learnt that at four leagues distance from them was a town named *S<sup>a</sup> Pecaque*. With this information they returned to the ship; and the same evening, Swan with eight canoes and 140 men, set off for *S<sup>a</sup> Pecaque*, taking the Indian for a guide. This was on the 15th of the month.

They rowed during the night about five leagues up the river, and at six o'clock in the morning, landed at a place where it was about a pistol-shot wide, with pretty high banks on each side, the country plain and even. Twenty men were left with the canoes, and Swan with the rest marched towards the town, by a road which led partly through woodland, and partly through savannas well stocked with cattle. They arrived at the town by ten in the forenoon, and entered without opposition, the inhabitants having quitted it on their approach.

16th.

The town of *Santa Pecaque* was small, regularly built after the Spanish mode, with a Parade in the middle, and balconies to the houses which fronted the parade. It had two churches. The inhabitants were mostly Spaniards, and their principal occupation was husbandry. It is distant from *Compostella* about 21 leagues. *Compostella* itself was at that time reckoned

Town of  
*S<sup>a</sup> Pecaque*.

not

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\* *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 9.

CHAP. 19. not to contain more than seventy white families, which made  
1686. about one-eighth part of its inhabitants.

February. 'There were large storehouses, with maize, salt-fish, salt, and  
Coast of sugar, at *Santa Pecaque*, provisions being kept there for the  
Nueva subsistence of some hundreds of slaves who worked in silver  
Galicia. mines not far distant. The chief purpose for which the *Cygn*

At mines not far distant. The chief purpose for which the *Cygn*  
S'Pecaque. had come so far North on this coast was to get provisions, and  
here was more than sufficient to supply her wants. For trans-  
porting it to their canoes, Swan divided the men into two  
parties, which it was agreed should go alternately, one party  
constantly to remain to guard the stores in the town. The  
afternoon of the first day was passed in taking rest and refresh-  
ment, and in collecting horses. The next morning, fifty-seven  
17th. men, with a number of horses laden with maize, each man also  
carrying a small quantity, set out for the canoes, to which they  
arrived, and safely deposited their burthens. The Spaniards  
had given some disturbance to the men who guarded the  
canoes, and had wounded one, on which account they were  
reinforced with seven men from the carrying party ; and in the  
afternoon, the fifty returned to *Santa Pecaque*. Only one trip  
was made in the course of the day.

18th. On the morning of the 18th, the party which had guarded  
the town the day before, took their turn for carrying. They  
loaded 24 horses, and every man had his burthen. This day  
they took a prisoner, who told them, that nearly a thousand  
men, of all colours, Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and Mulattoes,  
were assembled at the town of *Santiago*, which was only three  
leagues distant from *Santa Pecaque*. This information made  
Captain Swan of opinion, that separating his men was attended  
with much danger ; and he determined that the next morning he  
would quit the town with the whole party. In the mean time  
he employed his men to catch as many horses as they could,  
that when they departed they might carry off a good load.

On

On the 19th, Swan called his men out early, and gave order to prepare for marching; but the greater number refused to alter the mode they had first adopted, and said they would not abandon the town until all the provision in it was conveyed to the canoes. Swan was forced to acquiesce, and to allow one-half of the company to go as before. They had fifty-four horses laden; Swan advised them to tie the horses one to another, and the men to keep in two bodies, twenty-five before, and the same number behind. His directions however were not followed: 'the men would go their own way, every man leading his horse.' The Spaniards had before observed their careless manner of marching, and had prepared their plan of attack for this morning, making choice of the ground they thought most for their advantage, and placing men there in ambush. The Buccaneer convoy had not been gone above a quarter of an hour when those who kept guard in the town, heard the report of guns. Captain Swan called on them to march out to the assistance of their companions; but some even then opposed him, and spoke with contempt of the danger and their enemies, till two horses, saddled, with holsters, and without riders, came galloping into the town frightened, and one had at its side a carabine newly discharged. On this additional sign that some event had taken place which it imported them to know, Swan immediately marched out of the town, and all his men followed him. When they came to the place where the engagement had happened, they beheld their companions that had gone forth from the town that morning, every man lying dead in the road, stripped, and so mangled that scarcely any one could be known. This was the most severe defeat the Buccaneers suffered in all their *South Sea* enterprises.

CHAP. 19.

1686.

February

19th.

At Santa

Pecaque.

Buccaneers  
defeated  
and slain  
by the  
Spaniards.

The party living very little exceeded the number of those

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who

CHAP. 19. who lay dead before them, yet the Spaniards made no endeavour to interrupt their retreat, either in their march to the  
 1686. canoes, or in their falling down the river, but kept at a distance.  
 February. ' It is probable,' says Dampier, ' the Spaniards did not cut off  
 Coast of ' so many of our men without loss of many of their own. We  
 Nueva ' lost this day fifty-four Englishmen and nine blacks; and  
 Galicia. ' among the slain was my ingenious friend Mr. Ringrose, who  
 At Santa ' wrote that part of the *History of the Buccaneers* which relates  
 Pecaque. ' to Captain Sharp. He had engaged in this voyage as super-  
 ' cargo of Captain Swan's ship.'—' Captain Swan had been  
 ' forewarned by his astrologer of the great danger they were in;  
 ' and several of the men who went in the first party had  
 ' opposed the division of their force: some of them foreboded  
 ' their misfortune, and heard as they lay down in the church  
 ' in the night, grievous groanings which kept them from  
 ' sleeping \*.'

Swan and his surviving crew were discouraged from attempting any thing more on the coast of *New Galicia*, although they had laid up but a small stock of provisions. On the 21st, they sailed from the *River of St. Jago* for the South Cape of *California*, where it was their intention to careen the ship; but the wind had settled in the NW quarter, and after struggling against it a fortnight, on the 7th of March, they anchored in a bay at the East end of the middle of the *Tres Marias Islands*, in eight fathoms clean sand. The next day, they took a birth within a quarter of a mile of the shore, the outer points of the bay bearing ENE and SSW.

March.  
 At the  
 Middle  
 Island  
 of the  
 Tres Marias.

None of the *Tres Marias Islands* were inhabited. Swan named the one at which he had anchored, *Prince George's Island*. Dampier describes them of moderate height, and the Westernmost Island to be the largest of the three. ' The soil is stony  
 ' and

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\* *Manuscript Journal.*

‘ and dry, producing much of a shrubby kind of wood, trouble-  
 ‘ some to pass ; but in some parts grow plenty of straight large  
 ‘ cedars. The sea-shore is sandy, and there, a green prickly  
 ‘ plant grows, whose leaves are much like the penguin leaf ;  
 ‘ the root is like the root of the *Sempervive*, but larger, and  
 ‘ when baked in an oven is reckoned good to eat. The Indians  
 ‘ of *California* are said to have great part of their subsistence  
 ‘ from these roots. We baked some, but none of us greatly  
 ‘ cared for them. They taste exactly like the roots of our  
 ‘ English Burdock boiled.’

CHAP. 19.  
 1686.  
 March.  
 At the  
 Tres Marias.  
 A Root  
 used as  
 Food.

At this Island were guanoes, raccoons, rabbits, pigeons, doves, fish, turtle, and seal. They careened here, and made a division of the store of provisions, two-thirds to the Cygnet and one-third to the Tender, ‘ there being one hundred eaters in the ship, and fifty on board the tender.’ The maize they had saved measured 120 bushels.

Dampier relates the following anecdote of himself at this place. ‘ I had been a long time sick of a dropsy, a distemper  
 ‘ whereof many of our men died ; so here I was laid and covered  
 ‘ all but my head in the hot sand. I endured it near half an  
 ‘ hour, and then was taken out. I sweated exceedingly while  
 ‘ I was in the sand, and I believe it did me much good, for I  
 ‘ grew well soon after.’

A Dropsy  
 cured by a  
 Sand Bath.

This was the dry season, and they could not find here a sufficient supply of fresh water, which made it necessary for them to return to the Continent. Before sailing, Swan landed a number of prisoners, Spaniards and Indians, which would have been necessary on many accounts besides that of the scantiness of provisions, if it had been his design to have proceeded forthwith Westward for the *East Indies* ; but as he was going again to the American coast, which was close at hand, the turning his prisoners ashore on a desolate Island, appears to



CHAP. 19. have been in revenge for the disastrous defeat sustained at  
1686. *S<sup>te</sup> Pecaque*, and for the Spaniards having given no quarter on  
March. that occasion.

Bay of They sailed on the 26th, and two days after, anchored in  
Vanderas. the *Bay of Vanderas* near the river at the bottom of the bay;  
but the water of this river was now brackish. Search was  
made along the South shore of the bay, and two or three  
leagues towards *Cape Corrientes*, a small brook of good fresh  
water was found; and good anchorage near to a small round  
Island which lies half a mile from the main, and about four  
leagues NEastward of the Cape. Just within this Island they  
brought the ships to anchor, in 25 fathoms depth, the brook  
bearing from them E  $\frac{1}{4}$  N half a mile distant, and *Point Pontequé*  
NWbN six leagues.

The Mosquito men struck here nine or ten jew-fish, the  
heads and finny pieces of which served for present consumption;  
and the rest was salted for sea-store. The maize and salted  
fish composed the whole of their stock of catables for their  
passage across the *Pacific*, and at a very straitened allowance  
would scarcely be sufficient to hold out sixty days.

## C H A P. XX.

*The Cygnet. Her Passage across the Pacific Ocean. At the  
Ladrones. At Mindanao.*

MARCH the 31st, they sailed from the American coast, steering at first SW, and afterwards more Westerly till they were in latitude 13° N, in which parallel they kept. ‘The kettle was boiled but once a day,’ says Dampier, ‘and there was no occasion to call the men to victuals. All hands came up to see the Quarter-master share it, and he had need to be exact. We had two dogs and two cats on board, and they likewise had a small allowance given them, and they waited with as much eagerness to see it shared as we did.’ In this passage they saw neither fish nor fowl of any kind, except at one time, when by Dampier’s reckoning they were 4975 miles West from *Cape Corrientes*, and then, numbers of the sea-birds called boobies were flying near the ships, which were supposed to come from some rocks not far distant. Their longitude at this time may be estimated at about 180 degrees from the meridian of Greenwich \*.

Fortunately, they had a fresh trade-wind, and made great runs every day. ‘On May the 20th, which,’ says Dampier, ‘we begin to call the 21st, we were in latitude 12° 50’ N, and steering West. At two p. m. the bark tender being two leagues ahead of the Cygnet, came into shoal water, and those on board plainly saw rocks under her, but no land was in sight. They  
‘hauled

C H A P. 20.

1686.

March.

The Cygnet  
quits the  
American  
Coast.Large flight  
of Birds.  
Lat. 13° N.  
Long. 180°.May  
21st.Shoals and  
Breakers  
SbW  $\frac{1}{2}$  W  
10 or 11  
leagues  
from the  
S end of  
Guahan.

\* Dampier’s Reckoning made the difference of longitude between *Cape Corrientes* and the Island *Guahan*, 125 degrees; which is 16 degrees more than it has been found by modern observations.

CHAP. 20. ' hauled on a wind to the Southward, and hove the lead, and found  
 1686. ' but four fathoms water. 'They saw breakers to the Westward.  
 May. ' 'They then wore round, and got their starboard tacks on board  
 ' and stood Northward. The Cygnet in getting up to the bark,  
 Bank de ' ran over a shoal bank, where the bottom was seen, and fish  
 Santa Rosa. ' among the rocks ; but the ship ran past it before we could  
 ' heave the lead. Both vessels stood to the Northward, keep-  
 ' ing upon a wind, and sailed directly North, having the wind  
 ' at ENE, till five in the afternoon, having at that time run  
 ' eight miles and increased our latitude so many minutes. We  
 ' then saw the Island *Guam* [*Guahan*] bearing NNE, distant  
 ' from us about eight leagues, which gives the latitude of the  
 ' Island (its South end) 13° 20' N. We did not observe the  
 ' variation of the compass at *Guam*. At *Cape Corrientes* we  
 ' found it 4° 28' Easterly, and an observation we made when  
 ' we had gone about a third of the passage, shewed it to be  
 ' the same. I am inclined to think it was less at *Guam* \*.'

The shoal above mentioned is called by the Spaniards the *Banco de Santa Rosa*, and the part over which the Cygnet passed, according to the extract from Dampier, is about SbW½W from the South end of *Guahan*, distant ten or eleven leagues.

At *Guahan*. An hour before midnight, they anchored on the West side of *Guahan*, a mile from the shore. The Spaniards had here a small Fort, and a garrison of thirty soldiers ; but the Spanish Governor resided at another part of the Island. As the ships anchored, a Spanish priest in a canoe went on board, believing them to be Spaniards from *Acapulco*. He was treated with civility, but detained as a kind of hostage, to facilitate any negotiation necessary for obtaining provisions ; and Swan sent a present to the Spanish Governor by the Indians of the canoe.

No

\* *Dampier. Manuscript Journal*, and Vol. I, Chap. 10. of his printed *Voyages*.

No difficulty was experienced on this head. Both Spaniards, and the few natives seen here, were glad to dispose of their provisions to so good a market as the buccaneer ships. Dampier conjectured the number of the natives at this time on *Guahan* not to exceed a hundred. In the last insurrection, which was a short time before Eaton stopped at the *Ladrones*, the natives, finding they could not prevail against the Spaniards, destroyed their plantations, and went to other Islands. 'Those of the natives who remained in *Guahan*,' says Dampier, 'if they were not actually concerned in that broil, their hearts were bent against the Spaniards; for they offered to carry us to the Fort and assist us to conquer the Island.'

CHAP. 20.

1686.

May.

At the  
Island  
*Guahan*.

Whilst Swan lay at *Guahan*, the Spanish *Acapulco* ship came in sight of the Island. The Governor immediately sent off notice to her of the *Buccaneer* ships being in the road, on which she altered her course towards the South, and by so doing got among the shoals, where she struck off her rudder, and did not get clear for three days. The natives at *Guahan* told the *Buccaneers* that the *Acapulco* ship was in sight of the Island, 'which,' says Dampier, 'put our men in a great heat to go out after her, but Captain Swan persuaded them out of that humour.'

Dampier praises the ingenuity of the natives of the *Ladron* Islands, and particularly in the construction of their sailing canoes, or, as they are sometimes called, their flying proes, of which he has given the following description. 'Their Proe or Sailing Canoe is sharp at both ends; the bottom is of one piece, of good substance neatly hollowed, and is about 28 feet long; the under or keel part is made round, but inclining to a wedge; the upper part is almost flat, having a very gentle hollow, and is about a foot broad: from hence, both sides of the boat are carried up to about five feet high with

Flying  
Proe,  
or Sailing  
Canoe.

' narrow

CHAP. 20. ' narrow plank, and each end of the boat turns up round very  
 1686. ' prettily. But what is very singular, one side of the boat is  
 May. ' made perpendicular like a wall, while the other side is  
 Guahan. ' rounding as other vessels are, with a pretty full belly. The  
 Flying ' dried husks of the cocoa-nuts serve for oakum. At the  
 Proe. ' middle of the vessel the breadth aloft is four or five feet, or  
 ' more, according to the length of the boat. The mast stands  
 ' exactly in the middle, with a long yard that peeps up and  
 ' down like a ship's mizen yard; one end of it reaches down to  
 ' the head of the boat, where it is placed in a notch made  
 ' purposely to keep it fast: the other end hangs over the  
 ' stern. To this yard the sail is fastened, and at the foot of  
 ' the sail is another small yard to keep the sail out square, or  
 ' to roll the sail upon when it blows hard; for it serves  
 ' instead of a reef to take up the sail to what degree they  
 ' please. Along the belly side of the boat, parallel with it, at  
 ' about seven feet distance, lies another boat or canoe very  
 ' small, being a log of very light wood, almost as long as the  
 ' great boat, but not above a foot and a half wide at the upper  
 ' part, and sharp like a wedge at each end. The little boat is  
 ' fixed firm to the other by two bamboos placed across the  
 ' great boat, one near each end, and its use is to keep the  
 ' great boat upright from oversetting. They keep the flat  
 ' side of the great boat against the wind, and the belly side,  
 ' consequently, with its little boat, is upon the lee\*. The vessel  
 ' has a head at each end so as to be able to sail with either  
 ' foremost;

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\* The Ladrone flying proa described in Commodore Anson's voyage, sailed with the belly or rounded side and its small canoe to windward; by which it appears that these proas were occasionally managed either way, probably according to the strength of the wind; the little parallel boat or canoe preserving the large one upright by its weight when to windward, and by its buoyancy when to leeward.

‘ foremost: they need not tack as our vessels do, but when  
 ‘ they ply to windward and are minded to make a board the  
 ‘ other way, they only alter the setting of the sail by shifting  
 ‘ the end of the yard, and they take the broad paddle with which  
 ‘ they steer instead of a rudder, to the other end of the vessel.  
 ‘ I have been particular in describing these their sailing canoes,  
 ‘ because I believe they sail the best of any boats in the  
 ‘ world. I tried the swiftness of one of them with our log: we  
 ‘ had twelve knots on our reel, and she ran it all out before the  
 ‘ half-minute glass was half out. I believe she would run 24  
 ‘ miles in an hour. It was very pleasant to see the little boat  
 ‘ running so swift by the other’s side. I was told that one  
 ‘ of these procs being sent express from *Guahan* to *Manila*,  
 ‘ [a distance above 480 leagues] performed the voyage in  
 ‘ four days.’

CHAP. 20.

1686.

May.

At the  
Island  
Guahan.

Dampier has described the Bread-fruit, which is among the  
 productions of the *Ladrone Islands*. He had never seen nor  
 heard of it any where but at these Islands. Provisions were  
 obtained in such plenty at *Guahan*, that in the two vessels they  
 salted above fifty hogs for sea use. The friar was released,  
 with presents in return for his good offices, and to compensate  
 for his confinement.

Bread  
Fruit.

June the 2d, they sailed from *Guahan* for the Island *Min-  
 danao*. The weather was uncertain: ‘ the Westerly winds were  
 ‘ not as yet in strength, and the Easterly winds commonly  
 ‘ over-mastered them and brought the ships on their way to  
 ‘ *Mindanao*.’

June.

There is much difference between the manuscript Journal of  
 Dampier and the published Narrative, concerning the geography  
 of the East side of *Mindanao*. The Manuscript says, ‘ We  
 ‘ arrived off *Mindanao* the 21st day of June; but being come  
 ‘ in with the land, knew not what part of the Island the city

Eastern  
side of  
*Mindanao*,  
and the  
Island  
St. John.

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I i

‘ was

CHAP. 20. ' was in, therefore we run down to the Northward, between  
 1686. ' *Mindanao* and *St. John*, and came to an anchor in a bay  
 June. ' which lieth in six degrees North latitude.'

*Mindanao*  
 and  
*St. John*.

In the printed Narrative it is said, 'The 21st day of June, we arrived at the *Island St. John*, which is on the East side of *Mindanao*, and distant from it 3 or 4 leagues. It is in latitude about 7° or 8° North. This Island is in length about 38 leagues, stretching NNW and SSE, and is in breadth about 24 leagues in the middle of the Island. The Northernmost end is broader, and the Southern narrower. This Island is of good height, and is full of small hills. The land at the SE end (where I was ashore) is of a black fat mould; and the whole Island seems to partake of the same, by the vast number of large trees that it produceth, for it looks all over like one great grove. As we were passing by the SE end, we saw a canoe of the natives under the shore, and one of our boats went after to have spoken with her, but she ran to the shore, and the people leaving her, fled to the woods. We saw no more people here, nor sign of inhabitant at this end. When we came aboard our ship again, we steered away for the Island *Mindanao*, which was fair in sight of us, it being about 10 leagues distant from this part of *St. John's*. The 22d day, we came within a league of the East side of *Mindanao*, and having the wind at SE, we steered towards the North end, keeping on the East side till we came into the latitude of 7° 40' N, and there we anchored in a small bay, a mile from the shore, in 10 fathoms, rocky foul ground. *Mindanao* being guarded on the East side by *St. John's Island*, we might as reasonably have expected to find the harbour and city on this side as any where else; but coming into the latitude in which we judged the city might be, we found no canoes or people that indicated a city or place of trade being  
 ' near

'near at hand, though we coasted within a league of the shore \*.'

CHAP. 20.

1686.

June.

Mindanao.

This difference between the manuscript and printed Journal cannot well be accounted for. The most remarkable particular of disagreement is in the latitude of the bay wherein they anchored. At this bay they had communication with the inhabitants, and learnt that the *Mindanao City* was to the Westward. They could not prevail on any Mindanao man to pilot them; the next day, however, they weighed anchor, and sailed back Southward, till they came to a part they supposed to be the SE end of *Mindanao*, and saw two small Islands about three leagues distant from it.

There is reason to believe that the two small Islands here noticed were *Sarangan* and *Candigar*; according to which, Dampier's *Island St. John* will be the land named *Cape San Augustin* in the present charts. And hence arises a doubt whether the land of *Cape San Augustin* is not an Island separate from *Mindanao*. Dampier's navigation between them does not appear to have been far enough to the Northward to ascertain whether he was in a Strait or a Gulf.

Sarangan  
and  
Candigar.

The wind blew constant and fresh from the Westward, and it took them till the 4th of July to get into a harbour or sound a few leagues to the NW from the two small Islands. This harbour or sound ran deep into the land; at the entrance it is only two miles across, but within it is three leagues wide, with seven fathoms depth, and there is good depth for shipping four or five leagues up, but with some rocky foul ground. On the East side of this Bay are small rivers and brooks of fresh water. The country on the West side was uncultivated land, woody, and well stocked with wild deer, which had been used to live there

July.

Harbour or  
Sound on  
the South  
Coast of  
Mindanao.

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\* Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 11.



CHAP. 20. there unmolested, no people inhabiting on that side of the  
 1686. bay. Near the shore was a border of savanna or meadow land  
 July. which abounded in long grass. Dampier says, 'the adjacent  
 At ' woods are a covert for the deer in the heat of the day; but  
 Mindanao. ' mornings and evenings they feed in the open plains, as thick  
 ' as in our parks in England. I never saw any where such  
 ' plenty of wild deer. We found no hindrance to our killing as  
 ' many as we pleased, and the crews of both the ships were  
 ' fed with venison all the time we remained here.'

They quitted this commodious Port on the 12th; the weather had become moderate, and they proceeded Westward for the River and City of *Mindanao*. The Southern part of the Island appeared better peopled than the Eastern part; they passed many fishing boats, 'and now and then a small village.'

River of Mindanao. On the 18th, they anchored before the *River of Mindanao*, in 15 fathoms depth, the bottom hard sand, about two miles distant from the shore, and three or four miles from a small Island which was without them to the Southward. The river is small, and had not more than ten or eleven feet depth over the bar at spring tides. Dampier gives the latitude of the entrance 6° 22' N.

City of Mindanao. The buccaneer ships on anchoring saluted with seven guns, under English colours, and the salute was returned with three guns from the shore. 'The City of *Mindanao* is about two miles from the sea. It is a mile long, of no great breadth, winding with the banks of the river on the right hand going up, yet it has many houses on the opposite side of the river.' The houses were built upon posts, and at this time, as also during a great part of the succeeding month, the weather was rainy, and 'the city seemed to stand as in a pond, so that there was no passing from one house to another but in canoes.'

The Island *Mindanao* was divided into a number of small states.

states. The port at which the *Cygnets* and her tender now anchored, with a large district of country adjacent, was under the dominion of a Sultan or Prince, who appears to have been one of the most powerful in the Island. The Spaniards had not established their dominion over all the *Philippine Islands*, and the inhabitants of this place were more apprehensive of the *Hollanders* than of any other Europeans; and on that account expressed some discontent when they understood the *Cygnets* was not come for the purpose of making a settlement. On the afternoon of their arrival, Swan sent an officer with a present to the Sultan, consisting of scarlet cloth, gold lace, a scymitar, and a pair of pistols; and likewise a present to another great man who was called the General, of scarlet cloth and three yards of silver lace. The next day, Captain Swan went on shore and was admitted to an audience in form. The Sultan shewed him two letters from English merchants, expressing their wishes to establish a factory at *Mindanao*, to do which he said the English should be welcome. A few days after this audience, the *Cygnets* and tender went into the river, the former being lightened first to get her over the bar. Here, similar to the custom in the ports of *China*, an officer belonging to the Sultan went on board and measured the ships.

Voyagers or travellers who visit strange countries, generally find, or think, it necessary to be wary and circumspect: mercantile voyagers are on the watch for occasions of profit, and the inquisitiveness of men of observation will be regarded with suspicion; all which, however familiarity of manners may be assumed, keeps cordiality at a distance, and causes them to continue strangers. The present visitors were differently circumstanced and of different character: their pursuits at *Mindanao* were neither to profit by trade nor to make observation. Long confined with pockets full of money which they were impatient to

CHAP. 20.

1686.

July.

At  
Mindanao.

CHAP. 20. to exchange for enjoyment, with minds little troubled by con-  
 siderations of economy, they at once entered into familiar  
 1686. intercourse with the natives, who were gained almost as much  
 At by the freedom of their manners as by their presents, and with  
 Mindanao. whom they immediately became intimates and inmates. The  
 same happened to Drake and his companions, when, returning  
 enriched with spoil from the *South Sea*, they stopped at the  
 Island *Java*; and we read no instance of Europeans arriving at  
 such sociable and friendly intercourse with any of the natives  
 of *India*, as they became with the people of *Java* during the  
 short time they remained there, except in the similarly circum-  
 stanced instance of the crew of the *Cygnets* among the  
 Mindanayans.

By the length of their stay at *Mindanao*, Dampier was enabled  
 to enter largely into descriptions of the natives, and of the  
 country, and he has related many entertaining particulars con-  
 cerning them. Those only in which the *Buccaneers* were  
 interested will be noticed here.

The *Buccaneers* were at first prodigal in their gifts. When  
 any of them went on shore, they were welcomed and invited to  
 the houses, and were courted to form particular attachments.  
 Among many nations of the East a custom has been found to  
 prevail, according to which, a stranger is expected to choose  
 some individual native to be his friend or comrade; and a con-  
 nexion so formed, and confirmed with presents, is regarded, if  
 not as sacred, with such high respect, that it is held most dis-  
 honourable to break it. The visitor is at all times afterwards  
 welcome to his comrade's house. The *tayoship*, with the cere-  
 mony of exchanging names, among the South Sea islanders, is a  
 bond of fellowship of the same nature. The people of *Mindanao*  
 enlarged and refined upon this custom, and allowed to the  
 stranger a *pagally*, or platonic friend of the other sex. The  
 wives

wives of the richest men may be chosen, and she is permitted to converse with her pagally in public. ‘In a short time,’ says Dampier, ‘several of our men, such as had good clothes and store of gold, had a comrade or two, and as many pagallies.’ Some of the crew hired, and some purchased, houses, in which they lived with their comrades and pagallies, and with a train of servants, as long as their means held out. ‘Many of our Squires,’ continues Dampier, ‘were in no long time eased of the trouble of counting their money. This created a division of the crew into two parties, that is to say, of those who had money, and those who had none. As the latter party increased, they became dissatisfied and unruly for want of action, and continually urged the Captain to go to sea; which not being speedily complied with, they sold the ship’s stores and the merchants’ goods to procure arrack.’ Those whose money held out, were not without their troubles. The Mindanayans were a people deadly in their resentments. Whilst the *Cygnets* lay at *Mindanao*, sixteen Buccaneers were buried, most of whom, Dampier says, died by poison. ‘The people of *Mindanao* are expert at poisoning, and will do it upon small occasions. Nor did our men want for giving offence either by rogueries, or by familiarities with their women, even before their husbands’ faces. They have poisons which are slow and lingering; for some who were poisoned at *Mindanao*, did not die till many months after.’

Towards the end of the year they began to make preparation for sailing. It was then discovered that the bottom of the tender was eaten through by worms in such a manner that she would scarcely swim longer in port, and could not possibly be made fit for sea. The *Cygnets* was protected by a sheathing which covered her bottom, the worms not being able

CHAP. 20.

1686.

At  
Mindanao.

CHAP. 20. able to penetrate farther than to the hair which was between  
1687. the sheathing and the main plank.

January. In the beginning of January (1687), the *Cygnets* was removed to without the bar of the river. Whilst she lay there, and when Captain Swan was on shore, his Journal was accidentally left out, and thereby liable to the inspection of the crew, some of whom had the curiosity to look in it, and found there the misconduct of several individuals on board, noted down in a manner that seemed to threaten an after-reckoning. This discovery increased the discontents against Swan to such a degree, that when he heard of it he did not dare to trust himself on board, and the discontented party took advantage of his absence and got the ship under sail. Captain Swan sent on board Mr. Harthope, one of the Supercargoes, to see if he could effect a reconciliation. The principal mutineers shewed to Mr. Harthope the Captain's Journal, ' and repeated to him all ' his ill actions, and they desired that he would take the command of the ship; but he refused, and desired them to tarry ' a little longer whilst he went on shore and communed with ' the Captain, and he did not question but all differences ' would be reconciled. They said they would wait till two ' o'clock; but at four o'clock, Mr. Harthope not having returned, and no boat being seen coming from the shore, they ' made sail and put to sea with the ship, leaving their Commander and 36 of the crew at *Mindanao*.' Dampier was among those who went in the ship; but he disclaims having had any share in the mutiny.

## C H A P. XXI.

*The Cygnet departs from Mindanao. At the Ponghou Isles.  
At the Five Islands. Dampier's Account of the Five Islands.  
They are named the Bashee Islands.*

**I**T was on the 14th of January the *Cygnet* sailed from before the *River Mindanao*. The crew chose one John Reed, a Jamaica man, for their Captain. They steered Westward along the coast of the South side of the Island, 'which here tends 'W b S, the land of a good height, with high hills in the country.' The 15th, they were abreast a town named *Chambongo* [in the charts *Samboangan*] which Dampier reckoned to be 30 leagues distant from the *River of Mindanao*. The Spaniards had formerly a fort there, and it is said to be a good harbour. 'At the distance of two or three leagues from the coast, are many small low Islands or Keys; and two or three leagues to the Southward of these Keys is a long Island stretching NE and SW about twelve leagues \*.'

CHAP. 21.  
1687.  
January.  
South  
Coast of  
Mindanao.

When they were past the SW part of *Mindanao*, they sailed Northward towards *Manila*, plundering the country vessels that came in their way. What was seen here of the coasts is noticed slightly and with uncertainty. They met two *Mindanao* vessels laden with silks and calicoes; and near *Manila* they took some Spanish vessels, one of which had a cargo of rice.

Among the  
Philippine  
Islands.

From the *Philippine Islands* they went to the Island *Pulo Condore*,

March.  
Pulo  
Condore.

\* *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 14. The long Island is named *Basseelan* in the charts; but the shape there given it does not agree well with Dampier's description.

CHAP. 21. *Condore*, where two of the men who had been poisoned at  
 1687. *Mindanao*, died. 'They were opened by the surgeon, in com-  
 March. 'pliance with their dying request, and their livers were found  
 In the 'black, light, and dry, like pieces of cork.'  
 China Seas.

From *Pulo Condore* they went cruising to the *Gulf of Siam*, and to different parts of the *China Seas*. What their success was, Dampier did not think proper to tell, for it would not admit of being palliated under the term *Buccaneering*. Among their better projects and contrivances, one, which could only have been undertaken by men confident in their own seamanship and dexterity, was to search at the *Prata Island and Shoal*, for treasure which had been wrecked there, the recovery of which no one had ever before ventured to attempt. In pursuit of this scheme, they unluckily fell too far to leeward, and were unable to beat up against the wind.

July. In July they went to the *Ponghou Islands*, expecting to find  
 Ponghou there a port which would be a safe retreat. On the 20th of  
 Isles. that month, they anchored at one of the Islands, where they found a large town, and a Tartar garrison. This was not a place where they could rest with ease and security. Having the wind at SW, they again got under sail, and directed their course to look for some Islands which in the charts were laid down between *Formosa* and *Luconia*, without any name, but marked with the figure 5 to denote their number. These *Buccaneers*, or rather pirates, had no other information concerning the *Five Islands* than seeing them on the charts, and hoped to find them without inhabitants.

The Five  
Islands.

Dampier's account of the *Five Islands* would lose in many respects if given in any other than his own words, which therefore are here transcribed.

Dampier's  
Description  
of the Five  
Islands.

'August the 6th, We made the *Islands*; the wind was at South, and we fetched in with the Westernmost, which is the  
 'largest,

‘ largest, on which we saw goats, but could not get anchor-  
 ‘ ground, therefore we stood over to others about three leagues  
 ‘ from this, and the next forenoon anchored in a small Bay on  
 ‘ the East side of the Easternmost Island in fifteen fathoms, a  
 ‘ cable’s length from the shore; and before our sails were  
 ‘ furled we had a hundred small boats aboard, with three, four,  
 ‘ and some with six men in them. There were three large  
 ‘ towns on the shore within the distance of a league. Most  
 ‘ of our people being aloft (for we had been forced to turn in  
 ‘ close with all sail abroad, and when we anchored, furled all  
 ‘ at once) and our deck being soon full of Indian natives, we  
 ‘ were at first alarmed, and began to get our small-arms ready;  
 ‘ but they were very quiet, only they picked up such old  
 ‘ iron as they found upon our deck. At last, one of our men  
 ‘ perceived one of them taking an iron pin out of a gun-  
 ‘ carriage, and laid hold of him, upon which he bawled out,  
 ‘ and the rest leaped into their boats or overboard, and they  
 ‘ all made away for the shore. But when we perceived their  
 ‘ fright, we made much of him we had in hold, and gave him  
 ‘ a small piece of iron, with which we let him go, and he  
 ‘ immediately leaped overboard and swam to his consorts, who  
 ‘ hovered near the ship to see the issue. Some of the boats  
 ‘ came presently aboard again, and they were always after-  
 ‘ ward very honest and civil. We presently after this, sent our  
 ‘ canoe on shore, and they made the crew welcome with a  
 ‘ drink they call Bashee, and they sold us some hogs. We  
 ‘ bought a fat goat for an old iron hoop, a hog of 70 or 80 *lbs.*  
 ‘ weight for two or three pounds of iron, and their bashee  
 ‘ drink and roots for old nails or bullets. Their hogs were  
 ‘ very sweet, but many were meazled. We filled fresh water  
 ‘ here at a curious brook close by the ship.

‘ We lay here till the 12th, when we weighed to seek for a

K K 2

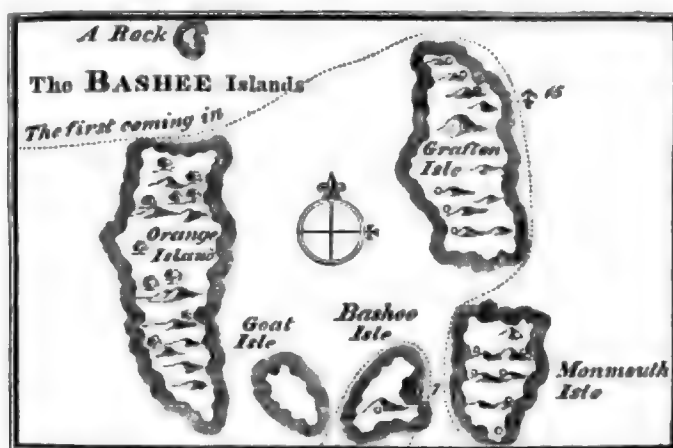
‘ better

CHAP. 21.  
 1687.  
 August  
 7th.  
 Dampier's  
 Account  
 of the  
 Five Islands.



CHAP. 21.  
1687.  
August.  
Dampier's  
Account  
of the  
Five Islands.

' better anchoring place. We plied to windward, and passed  
' between the South end of this Island and the North end of  
' another Island South of this. These Islands were both full  
' of inhabitants, but there was no good riding. We stopped  
' a tide under the Southern Island. The tide runs there very  
' strong, the flood to the North, and it rises and falls eight  
' feet. It was the 15th day of the month before we found a  
' place we might anchor at and careen, which was at another  
' Island not so big as either of the former.



' We anchored near the North East part of this smaller  
' Island, against a small sandy bay, in seven fathoms clean  
' hard sand, a quarter of a mile from the shore. We presently  
' set up a tent on shore, and every day some of us went to the  
' towns of the natives, and were kindly entertained by them.  
' Their boats also came on board to traffic with us every day;  
' so that besides provision for present use, we bought and  
' salted 70 or 80 good fat hogs, and laid up a good stock of  
' potatoes and yams.

Names  
given to the  
Islands.

' These Islands lie in 20° 20' N.\* As they are laid down in  
' the

\* M. de Surville in 1769, and much more lately Captain A. Murray of the English E. I. Company's Service, found the South end of *Monmouth Island* to be in 20° 17' N.

the charts marked only with a figure of 5, we gave them what names we pleased. The Dutchmen who were among us named the Westernmost, which is the largest, the *Prince of Orange's Island*. It is seven or eight leagues long, about two leagues wide, and lies almost North and South. *Orange Island* was not inhabited. It is high land, flat and even at the top, with steep cliffs against the sea; for which reason we could not go ashore there, as we did on all the rest.

CHAP. 21.

1687.

Orange  
Island.

The Island where we first anchored, we called the *Duke of Grafton's Isle*, having married my wife out of his Dutchess's family, and leaving her at Arlington House at my going abroad. *Grafton Isle* is about four leagues long, stretching North and South, and one and a half wide.

Grafton  
Island.

The other great Island our seamen called the *Duke of Monmouth's Island*. It is about three leagues long, and a league wide.

Monmouth  
Island.

The two smaller Islands, which lie between *Monmouth*, and the South end of *Orange Island*; the Westernmost, which is the smallest, we called *Goat Island*, from the number of goats we saw there. The Easternmost, at which we careened, our men unanimously called *Bashee Island*, because of the plentiful quantity of that liquor which we drank there every day.

Goat  
Island.Bashee  
Island.

This drink called *Bashee*, the natives make with the juice of the sugar-cane, to which they put some small black berries. It is well boiled, and then put into great jars, in which it stands three or four days to ferment. Then it settles clear, and is presently fit to drink. This is an excellent liquor, strong, and I believe wholesome, and much like our English beer both in colour and taste. Our men drank briskly of it during several weeks, and were frequently drunk with it, and never sick in consequence. The natives sold it to us very cheap, and from the plentiful use of it, our men called all these Islands the *Bashee Islands*.

The Drink  
called  
Bashee.The whole  
group  
named the  
Bashee  
Islands.

To

## CHAP. 21.

1687.

Rocks or  
small  
IslandsNorth of  
the  
Five Islands.Natives  
described.

‘ To the Northward of the Five Islands are two high rocks.’

[These rocks are not inserted in Dampier’s manuscript Chart, and only one of them in the published Chart; whence is to be inferred, that the other was beyond the limit of the Chart.]

‘ These Islanders are short, squat, people, generally round visaged with thick eyebrows; their eyes of a hazel colour, small, yet bigger than those of the Chinese; they have short low noses, their teeth white; their hair black, thick, and lank, which they wear short: their skins are of a dark copper colour. They wear neither hat, cap, nor turban to keep off the sun. The men had a cloth about their waist, and the women wore short cotton petticoats which reached below the knee. These people had iron; but whence it came we knew not. The boats they build are much after the fashion of our Deal yawls, but smaller, and every man has a boat, which he builds himself. They have also large boats, which will carry 40 or 50 men each.

‘ They are neat and cleanly in their persons, and are withal the quietest and civilest people I ever met with. I could never perceive them to be angry one with another. I have admired to see 20 or 30 boats aboard our ship at a time, all quiet and endeavouring to help each other on occasion; and if cross accidents happened, they caused no noise nor appearance of distaste. When any of us came to their houses, they would entertain us with such things as their houses or plantations would afford; and if they had no bashee at home, would buy of their neighbours, and sit down and drink freely with us; yet neither then nor sober could I ever perceive them to be out of humour.

‘ I never observed them to worship any thing; they had no idols; neither did I perceive that one man was of greater power than another: they seemed to be all equal, only every  
‘ man

‘ man ruling in his own house, and children respecting and  
 ‘ honouring their parents. Yet it is probable they have some law  
 ‘ or custom by which they are governed ; for whilst we lay here,  
 ‘ we saw a young man buried alive in the earth, and it was  
 ‘ for theft, as far as we could understand from them. There  
 ‘ was a great deep hole dug, and abundance of people came to  
 ‘ the place to take their last farewell of him. One woman  
 ‘ particularly made great lamentations, and took off the con-  
 ‘ demned person’s ear-rings. We supposed her to be his mother.  
 ‘ After he had taken leave of her, and some others, he was put  
 ‘ into the pit, and covered over with earth. He did not struggle,  
 ‘ but yielded very quietly to his punishment, and they crammed  
 ‘ the earth close upon him, and stifled him.

CHAP. 21.  
 1687.

‘ *Monmouth* and *Grafton Isles* are very hilly with steep  
 ‘ precipices ; and whether from fear of pirates, of foreign  
 ‘ enemies, or factions among their own clans, their towns and  
 ‘ villages are built on the most steep and inaccessible of these  
 ‘ precipices, and on the sides of rocky hills ; so that in some of  
 ‘ their towns, three or four rows of houses stand one above  
 ‘ another, in places so steep that they go up to the first row  
 ‘ with a ladder, and in the same manner ascend to every street  
 ‘ upwards. *Grafton* and *Monmouth Islands* are very thick set  
 ‘ with these hills and towns. The two small Islands are flat  
 ‘ and even, except that on *Bashee Island* there is one steep  
 ‘ craggy hill. The reason why *Orange Island* has no inhabitants,  
 ‘ though the largest and as fertile as any of these Islands, I take  
 ‘ to be, because it is level and exposed to attack ; and for the  
 ‘ same reason, *Goat Island*, being low and even, hath no inha-  
 ‘ bitants. We saw no houses built on any open plain ground.  
 ‘ Their houses are but small and low, the roofs about eight  
 ‘ feet high.

Situations  
 of their  
 Towns.

‘ The vallies are well watered with brooks of fresh water. The  
 ‘ fruits

- CHAP. 21. ' fruits of these Islands are plantains, bananas, pine-apples,  
 1687. ' pumpkins, yams and other roots, and sugar-canes, which last  
 Bashee ' they use mostly for their bashee drink. Here are plenty of  
 Islands. ' goats, and hogs; and but a few fowls. They had no grain of  
 ' any kind.
- September. ' On the 26th of September, our ship was driven to sea, by a  
 26th. ' strong gale at N b W, which made her drag her anchors. Six  
 ' of the crew were on shore, who could not get on board. The
- October. ' weather continued stormy till the 29th. The 1st of October,  
 ' we recovered the anchorage from which we had been driven,  
 ' and immediately the natives brought on board our six seamen,  
 ' who related that after the ship was out of sight, the natives  
 ' were more kind to them than they had been before, and tried  
 ' to persuade them to cut their hair short, as was the custom  
 ' among themselves, offering to each of them if they would, a  
 ' young woman to wife, a piece of land, and utensils fit for a  
 ' planter. These offers were declined, but the natives were not  
 ' the less kind; on which account we made them a present  
 ' of three whole bars of iron.'

Two days after this reciprocation of kindness, the Buccaneers  
 bid farewell to these friendly Islanders.

## C H A P. XXII.

*The Cygnet. At the Philippines, Celebes, and Timor. On the Coast of New Holland. End of the Cygnet.*

FROM the *Bashee Islands*, the *Cygnet* steered at first SSW, with the wind at West, and on that course passed ‘close to the Eastward of certain small Islands that lie just by the North end of the Island *Luconia*.’

CHAP. XX.

1687.

October.

They went on Southward by the East of the *Philippine Islands*. On the 14th, they were near a small low woody Island, which Dampier reckoned to lie East 20 leagues from the SE end of *Mindanao*. The 16th, they anchored between the small Islands *Candigar* and *Sarangan*; but afterwards found at the NW end of the Eastern of the two Islands, a good and convenient small cove, into which they went, and careened the ship. They heard here that Captain Swan and those of the crew left with him, were still at the *City of Mindanao*.

Island  
near the  
SE end of  
*Mindanao*.*Candigar*.

The *Cygnet* and her restless crew continued wandering about the Eastern Seas, among the *Philippine Islands*, to *Celebes*, and to *Timor*. December the 27th, steering a Southerly course, they passed by the West side of *Rotte*, and by another small Island, near the SW end of *Timor*. Dampier says, ‘Being now clear of all the Islands, and having the wind at West and W b N, we steered away SSW, \* intending to touch at *New Holland*, to see what that country would afford us.’

December.  
27th.Near the  
SW end of  
*Timor*.

The wind blew fresh, and kept them under low sail; sometimes with only their courses set, and sometimes with reefed topsails. The 31st at noon, their latitude was 13° 20′ S.

31st.

About ten o’clock at night, they tacked and stood to the Northward for fear of a shoal, which their charts laid down

in

\* *Manuscript Journal.*

## CHAP. 22.

1688.

January.

Low Island  
and Shoal,  
SbW from  
the West  
end of  
Timor.

NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

In a Bay  
on the  
NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

in the track they were sailing, and in latitude  $13^{\circ} 50' S$ . At three in the morning, they tacked again and stood SbW and SSW. As soon as it was light, they perceived a low Island and shoal right ahead. This shoal, by their reckoning, is in latitude  $13^{\circ} 50'$ , and lies SbW from the West end of *Timor*.\* ' It is ' a small spit of sand appearing just above the water's edge, ' with several rocks about it eight or ten feet high above ' water. It lies in a triangular form, each side in extent about ' a league and a half. We could not weather it, so bore away ' round the East end, and stood again to the Southward, ' passing close by it and sounding, but found no ground. This ' shoal is laid down in our drafts not above 16 or 20 leagues ' from *New Holland*; but we ran afterwards 60 leagues making ' a course due South, before we fell in with the coast of *New Holland*, which we did on January the 4th, in latitude '  $16^{\circ} 50' S$ .' Dampier remarks here, that unless they were set Westward by a current, the coast of *New Holland* must have been laid down too far Westward in the charts; but he thought it not probable that they were deceived by currents, because the tides on that part of the coast were found very regular; the flood setting towards the NE.

The coast here was low and level, with sand-banks. The Cygnet sailed along the shore NEbE 12 leagues, when she came to a point of land, with an Island so near it that she could not pass between. A league before coming to this point, that is to say, Westward of the point, was a shoal which ran out from the main-land a league. Beyond the point, the coast ran East, and East Southerly, making a deep bay with many

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\* In the printed Voyage, the shoal is mistakenly said to lie SbW from the East end of *Timor*. The Manuscript Journal, and the track of the ship as marked in the charts to the 1st volume of *Dampier's Voyages*, agree in making the place of the shoal SbW from the West end of *Timor*; whence they had last taken their departure, and from which their reckoning was kept.

many Islands in it. On the 5th, they anchored in this bay, about two miles from the shore, in 29 fathoms. The 6th, they ran nearer in and anchored about four miles Eastward of the point before mentioned, and a mile distant from the nearest shore, in 18 fathoms depth, the bottom clean sand.

CHAP. 22.  
1688.  
January.  
In a Bay  
on the  
NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

People were seen on the land, and a boat was sent to endeavour to make acquaintance with them ; but the natives did not wait. Their habitations were sought for, but none were found. The soil here was dry and sandy, yet fresh water was found by digging for it. They warped the ship into a small sandy cove, at a spring tide, as far as she would float, and at low water she was high aground, the sand being dry without her half a mile ; for the sea rose and fell here about five fathoms perpendicularly. During the neap tides, the ship lay wholly aground, the sea not approaching nearer than within a hundred yards of her. Turtle and manatee were struck here, as much every day as served the whole crew.

Boats went from the ship to different parts of the bay in search of provisions. For a considerable time they met with no inhabitants ; but at length, a party going to one of the Islands, saw there about forty natives, men, women, and children. ' The Island was too small for them to conceal themselves. The men at first made threatening motions with lances and wooden swords, but a musket was fired to scare them, and they stood still. The women snatched up their infants and ran away howling, their other children running after squeaking and bawling. Some invalids who could not get away lay by the fire making a doleful noise ; but after a short time they grew sensible that no mischief was intended them, and they became quiet.' Those who had fled, soon returned, and some presents made, succeeded in rendering them familiar. Dampier relates, ' we filled some of our barrels with water at wells, which had been dug by the natives, but it

Natives.



CHAP. 22.

1688.

January.

In a Bay  
on the  
NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

‘ being troublesome to get to our boats, we thought to have  
 ‘ made these men help us, to which end we put on them some  
 ‘ old ragged clothes, thinking this finery would make them  
 ‘ willing to be employed. We then brought our new servants to  
 ‘ the wells, and put a barrel on the shoulders of each; but  
 ‘ all the signs we could make were to no purpose, for they  
 ‘ stood like statues, staring at one another and grinning like so  
 ‘ many monkies. These poor creatures seem not accustomed  
 ‘ to carry burthens, and I believe one of our ship-boys of ten  
 ‘ years old would carry as much as one of their men. So  
 ‘ we were forced to carry our water ourselves, and they very  
 ‘ fairly put off the clothes again and laid them down. They  
 ‘ had no great liking to them at first, neither did they seem  
 ‘ to admire any thing that we had.’

‘ The inhabitants of this country are the most miserable  
 ‘ people in the world. The Hottentots compared with them  
 ‘ are gentlemen. They have no houses, animals, or poultry.  
 ‘ Their persons are tall, straight-bodied, thin, with long limbs :  
 ‘ they have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows.  
 ‘ Their eyelids are always half closed to keep the flies out of  
 ‘ their eyes, for they are so troublesome here that no fanning  
 ‘ will keep them from one’s face, so that from their infancy  
 ‘ they never open their eyes as other people do, and therefore  
 ‘ they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads as if  
 ‘ they were looking at something over them. They have great  
 ‘ bottle noses, full lips, wide mouths : the two fore-teeth of their  
 ‘ upper jaw are wanting in all of them : neither have they any  
 ‘ beards. Their hair is black, short, and curled, and their skins  
 ‘ coal black like that of the negroes in *Guinea*. Their only food  
 ‘ is fish, and they constantly search for them at low water,  
 ‘ and they make little weirs or dams with stones across little  
 ‘ coves of the sea. At one time, our boat being among the  
 ‘ Islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these people  
 ‘ swimming

‘ swimming from one Island to another ; for they have neither  
 ‘ boats, canoes, nor bark-logs. We always gave them victuals  
 ‘ when we met any of them. But after the first time of our  
 ‘ being among them, they did not stir for our coming.’

CHAP. 22.

1688.

March.

In a Bay  
On the  
NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

It deserves to be remarked to the credit of human nature, that these poor people, in description the most wretched of mankind in all respects, that we read of, stood their ground for the defence of their women and children, against the shock and first surprise at hearing the report of fire-arms.

The *Cygnets* remained at this part of *New Holland* till the 12th of March, and then sailed Westward, for the West coast of *Sumatra*.

On the 28th, they fell in with a small woody uninhabited Island, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 20' S$ , and, by Dampier's reckoning,  $12^{\circ} 6'$  of longitude from the part of *New Holland* at which they had been. There was too great depth of water every where round the Island for anchorage. A landing-place was found near the SW point, and on the Island a small brook of fresh water ; but the surf would not admit of any to be taken off to the ship. Large craw-fish, boobies, and men-of-war birds, were caught, as many as served for a meal for the whole crew.

28th.

An Island  
in Lat.  
 $10^{\circ} 20' S$ .

April the 7th, they made the coast of *Sumatra*. Shortly after, at the *Nicobar Islands*, Dampier and some others quitted the *Cygnets*. Read, the Captain, and those who yet remained with him, continued their piratical cruising in the Indian Seas, till, after a variety of adventures, and changes of commanders, they put into *Saint Augustine's Bay* in the Island of *Madagascar*, by which time the ship was in so crazy a condition, that the crew abandoned her, and she sunk at her anchors. Some of the men embarked on board European ships, and some engaged themselves in the service of the petty princes of that Island.

April.

End of the  
*Cygnets*.

Dampier returned to *England* in 1691.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*French Buccaneers under François Grognet and Le Picard,  
to the Death of Grognet.*

CHAP. 23.  
The French  
Buccaneers,  
from  
July 1685.

HAVING accompanied the *Cygnet* to her end, the History must again be taken back to the breaking up of the general confederacy of Buccaneers which took place at the Island *Quibo*, to give a connected narrative of the proceedings of the French adventurers from that period to their quitting the *South Sea*.

Under  
Grognet.

Three hundred and forty-one French Buccaneers (or to give them their due, privateers, war then existing between *France* and *Spain*) separated from Edward Davis in July 1685, choosing for their leader Captain François Grognet.

They had a small ship, two small barks, and some large canoes, which were insufficient to prevent their being incommoded for want of room, and the ship was so ill provided with sails as to be disqualified for cruising at sea. They were likewise scantily furnished with provisions, and necessity for a long time confined their enterprises to the places on the coast of *New Spain* in the neighbourhood of *Quibo*. The towns of *Pueblo Nuevo*, *Ria Lera*, *Nicoya*, and others, were plundered by them, some more than once, by which they obtained provisions, and little of other plunder, except prisoners, from whom they extorted ransom either in provisions or money.

November.

In November, they attacked the town of *Ria Lera*. Whilst in the port, a Spanish Officer delivered to them a letter from the Vicar-General of the province of *Costa Rica*, written to inform them that a truce for twenty years had been concluded between

between *France* and *Spain*. The Vicar-General therefore required of them to forbear committing farther hostility, and offered to give them safe conduct over land to the *North Sea*, and a passage to *Europe* in the galleons of his Catholic Majesty to as many as should desire it. This offer not according with the inclinations of the adventurers, they declined accepting it, and, without entering into enquiry, professed to disbelieve the intelligence.

CHAP. 23.

1685.

November.  
French  
Buccaneers  
under  
Grognet.  
On the  
Coast of  
New Spain.

November the 14th, they were near the *Point Burica*. Lussan says, 'we admired the pleasant appearance of the land, and among other things, a walk or avenue, formed by five rows of cocoa-nut trees, which extended in continuation along the coast 15 leagues, with as much regularity as if they had been planted by line.'

Point de  
Burica.

In the beginning of January 1686, two hundred and thirty of these Buccaneers went in canoes from *Quibo* against *Chiriquita*, a small Spanish town on the Continent, between *Point Burica* and the Island *Quibo*. *Chiriquita* is situated up a navigable river, and at some distance from the sea-coast. 'Before this river are eight or ten Islands, and shoals on which the sea breaks at low water; but there are channels between them through which ships may pass\*.'

1686.

January.  
Chiriquita.

The Buccaneers arrived in the night at the entrance of the river, unperceived by the Spaniards; but being without guides, and in the dark, they mistook and landed on the wrong side of the river. They were two days occupied in discovering the right way, but were so well concealed by the woods, that at daylight on the morning of the third day they came upon the town and surprised the whole of the inhabitants, who, says Lussan, had been occupied the last two days in disputing which of them should keep watch, and go the rounds.

Lussan

\* *A Voyage by Edward Cooke, Vol. I, p. 371. London, 1712.*

## CHAP. 23.

1686.  
January.  
Grognet  
on the  
Coast of  
New Spain.

Lussan relates here, that himself and five others were decoyed to pursue a few Spaniards to a distance from the town, where they were suddenly attacked by one hundred and twenty men. He and his companions however, he says, played their parts an hour and a half '*en vrai Flibustiers*,' and laid thirty of the enemy on the ground, by which time they were relieved by the arrival of some of their friends. They set fire to the town, and got ransom for their prisoners: in what the ransom consisted, Lussan has not said.

At Quibo.

Their continuance in one station, at length prevailed on the Spaniards to collect and send a force against them. They had taken some pains to instil into the Spaniards a belief that they intended to erect fortifications and establish themselves at *Quibo*. Their view in this it is not easy to conjecture, unless it was to discourage their prisoners from pleading poverty; for they obliged those from whom they could not get money, to labour, and to procure bricks and materials for building to be sent for their ransom. On the 27th of January, a small fleet of Spanish vessels approached the Island *Quibo*. The buccaneer ship was without cannon, and lay near the entrance of a river which had only depth sufficient for their small vessels. The Buccaneers therefore took out of the ship all that could be of use, and ran her aground; and with their small barks and canoes took a station in the river. The Spaniards set fire to the abandoned ship, and remained by her to collect the iron-work; but they shewed no disposition to attack the French in the river; and on the 1st of February, they departed from the Island.

February.

The Buccaneers having lost their ship, set hard to work to build themselves small vessels. In this month of February, fourteen of their number died by sickness and accidents.

March.

They had projected an attack upon *Granada*, but want of present

present subsistence obliged them to seek supply nearer, and a detachment was sent with that view to the river of *Pueblo Nuevo*. Some vessels of the Spanish flotilla which had lately been at *Quibo*, were lying at anchor in the river, which the Flibustiers mistook for a party of the English Buccaneers. In this belief they went within pistol-shot, and hailed, and were then undeceived by receiving for answer a volley of musketry. They fired on the Spaniards in return, but were obliged to retreat, and in this affair they lost four men killed outright, and between 30 and 40 were wounded.

CHAP. 23.

1686.

March.

Unsuccessful attempt at Pueblo Nuevo.

Preparatory to their intended expedition against *Granada*, they agreed upon some regulations for preserving discipline and order, the principal articles of which were, that cowardice, theft, drunkenness, or disobedience, should be punished with forfeiture of all share of booty taken.

On the evening of the 22d, they were near the entrance of the *Gulf of Nicoya*, in a little fleet, consisting of two small barks, a row-galley, and nine large canoes. A tornado came on in the night which dispersed them a good deal. At daylight they were surprised at counting thirteen sail in company, and before they discovered which was the strange vessel, five more sail came in sight. They soon joined each other, and the strangers proved to be a party of the Buccaneers of whom Townley was the head.

Grognet is joined by Townley.

Townley had parted company from Swan not quite two months before. His company consisted of 115 men, embarked in a ship and five large canoes. Townley had advanced with his canoes along the coast before his ship to seek provisions, he and his men being no better off in that respect than Grognet and his followers. On their meeting as above related, the French did not forget Townley's former overbearing conduct towards them: they, however, limited their vengeance to a short

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M u

triumph.

CHAP. 23.

1686.

Grognet  
and  
Townley.

triumph. Lussan says, 'we now finding ourselves the strongest, called to mind the ill offices he had done us, and to shew him our resentment, we made him and his men in the canoes with him our prisoners. We then boarded his ship, of which we made ourselves masters, and pretended that we would keep her. We let them remain some time under this apprehension, after which we made them see that we were more honest and civilized people than they were, and that we would not profit of our advantage over them to revenge ourselves; for after keeping possession about four or five hours, we returned to them their ship and all that had been taken from them.' The English shewed their sense of this moderation by offering to join in the attack on *Granada*, which offer was immediately accepted.

April.  
Expedition  
against the  
City of  
*Granada*.

The city of *Granada* is situated in a valley bordering on the *Lake of Nicaragua*, and is about 16 leagues distant from *Leon*. The Buccaneers were provided with guides, and to avoid giving the Spaniards suspicion of their design, Townley's ship and the two barks were left at anchor near *Cape Blanco*, whilst the force destined to be employed against *Granada* proceeded in the canoes to the place at which it was proposed to land, directions being left with the ship and barks to follow in due time.

7th.

The 7th of April, 345 Buccaneers landed from the canoes, about twenty leagues NW-ward of *Cape Blanco*, and began their march, conducted by the guides, who led them through woods and unfrequented ways. They travelled night and day till the 9th, in hopes to reach the city before they were discovered by the inhabitants, or their having landed should be known by the Spaniards.

The province of *Nicaragua*, in which *Granada* stands, is reckoned one of the most fertile in *New Spain*. The distance from where the Buccaneers landed, to the city, may be estimated

mated about 60 miles. Yet they expected to come upon it by surprise; and in fact they did travel the greater part of the way without being seen by any inhabitant. Such a mark of the state of the population, corresponds with all the accounts given of the wretched tyranny exercised by the Spaniards over the nations they have conquered.

CHAP. 23.  
1686.  
April.  
Grognet  
and  
Townley.

The Buccaneers however were discovered in their second day's march, by people who were fishing in a river, some of whom immediately posted off with the intelligence. The Spaniards had some time before been advertised by a deserter that the Buccaneers designed to attack *Granada*; but they were known to entertain designs upon so many places, and to be so fluctuating in their plans, that the Spaniards could only judge from certain intelligence where most to guard against their attempts.

On the night of the 9th, fatigue and hunger obliged the Buccaneers to halt at a sugar plantation four leagues distant from the city. One man, unable to keep up with the rest, had been taken prisoner. The morning of the 10th, they marched on, and from an eminence over which they passed, had a view of the *Lake of Nicaragua*, on which were seen two vessels sailing from the city. These vessels the Buccaneers afterwards learnt, were freighted with the richest moveables that at short notice the inhabitants had been able to embark, to be conveyed for security to an Island in the Lake which was two leagues distant from the city.

9th.

10th.

*Granada* was large and spacious, with magnificent churches and well-built houses. The ground is destitute of water, and the town is supplied from the Lake; nevertheless there were many large sugar plantations in the neighbourhood, some of which were like small towns, and had handsome churches. *Granada* was not regularly fortified, but had a place of arms surrounded with a wall, in the nature of a citadel, and furnished



## CHAP. 23.

1686.

April.

The City  
of Nueva  
Granada  
taken;

11th.

And Burnt.

15th.

with cannon. The great church was within this inclosed part of the town. The Buccaneers arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately assaulted the place of arms, which they carried with the loss of four men killed, and eight wounded, most of them mortally. The first act of the victors, according to Lussan, was to sing *Te Deum* in the great church; and the next, to plunder. Provisions, military stores, and a quantity of merchandise, were found in the town, the latter of which was of little or no value to the captors. The next day they sent to enquire if the Spaniards would ransom the town, and the merchandise. It had been rumoured that the Buccaneers would be unwilling to destroy *Granada*, because they proposed at some future period to make it their baiting place, in returning to the *North Sea*, and the Spaniards scarcely condescended to make answer to the demand for ransom. The Buccaneers in revenge set fire to the houses. 'If we could have found boats,' says Lussan, 'to have gone on the lake, and could have taken the two vessels laden with the riches of *Granada*, we should have thought this a favourable opportunity for returning to the *West Indies*.'

On the 15th, they left *Granada* to return to the coast, which journey they performed in the most leisurely manner. They took with them a large cannon, with oxen to draw it, and some smaller guns which they laid upon mules. The weather was hot and dry, and the road so clouded with dust, as almost to stifle both men and beasts. Sufficient provision of water had not been made for the journey, and the oxen all died. The cannon was of course left on the road. Towards the latter part of the journey, water and refreshments were procured at some villages and houses, the inhabitants of which furnished supplies as a condition that their dwellings should be spared.

On the 26th, they arrived at the sea and embarked in their vessels, taking on board with them a Spanish priest whom the Spaniards

Spaniards would not redeem by delivering up their buccaneer prisoner. Most of the men wounded in the Granada expedition died of cramps.

CHAP. 23.

1686.

April.

28th,

At

Ria Lexa.

The 28th, they came upon *Ria Lexa* unexpectedly, and made one hundred of the inhabitants prisoners. By such means, little could be gained more than present subsistence, and that was rendered very precarious by the Spaniards removing their cattle from the coast. It was therefore determined to put an end to their unprofitable continuance in one place ; but they could not agree where next to go. All the English, and one half of the French, were for sailing to the *Bay of Panama*. The other half of the French, 148 in number, with Grognet at their head, declared for trying their fortunes North-westward. Division was made of the vessels and provisions. The whole money which the French had acquired by their depredations amounted to little more than 7000 dollars, and this sum they generously distributed among those of their countrymen who had been lamed or disabled.

May.

May the 19th, they parted company. Those bound for the *Bay of Panama*, of whom Townley appears to have been regarded the head, had a ship, a bark, and some large canoes. Townley proposed an attack on the town of *Lavelia* or *La Villia*, at which place the treasure from the Lima ships had been landed in the preceding year, and this proposal was approved.

Grognet  
and  
Townley  
part  
Company.  
Buccaneers  
under  
Townley.

Tornadoes and heavy rains kept them among the *Keys of Quibo* till the middle of June. On the 20th of that month, they arrived off the *Punta Mala*, and during the day, they lay at a distance from the land with sails furled. At night the principal part of their force made for the land in the canoes ; but they had been deceived in the distance. Finding that they could not reach the river which leads to *Lavelia* before day, they took down the sails and masts, and went

June.

to

CHAP. 23.

1686.

June.

Buccaneers  
under  
Townley.

23d.

Lavelia  
taken.

to three leagues distance from the land, where they lay all the day of the 21st. Lussan, who was of this party of Buccaneers, says that they were obliged to practise the same manœuvre on the day following. In the middle of the night of the 22d, 160 Buccaneers landed from the canoes at the entrance of the river. They were some hours in marching to *Lavelia*, yet the town was surprised, and above 300 of the inhabitants made prisoners. This was in admirable conformity with the rest of the management of the Spaniards. The fleet from *Lima*, laden with treasure intended for *Panama*, had, more than a year before, landed the treasure and rich merchandise at *Lavelia*, as a temporary measure of security against the Buccaneers, suited to the occasion. The Government at *Panama*, and the other proprietors, would not be at the trouble of getting it removed to *Panama*, except in such portions as might be required by some present convenience; and allowed a great part to remain in *Lavelia*, a place of no defence, although during the whole time Buccaneers had been on the coast of *Veragua*, or *Nicaragua*, to whom it now became an easy prey, through indolence and a total want of vigilance, as well in the proprietors as in those whom they employed to guard it.

Three Spanish barks were riding in the river, one of which the crews sunk, and so dismantled the others that no use could be made of them; but the Buccaneers found two boats in serviceable condition at a landing-place a quarter of a league below the town. The riches they now saw in their possession equalled their most sanguine expectations, and if secured, they thought would compensate for all former disappointments. The merchandise in *Lavelia* was estimated in value at a million and a half of piastres. The gold and silver found there amounted only to 15,000 piastres.

The first day of being masters of *Lavelia*, was occupied by the

the Buccaneers in making assortments of the most valuable articles of the merchandise. The next morning, they loaded 80 horses with bales, and a guard of 80 men went with them to the landing-place where the two boats above mentioned were lying. In the way, one man of this escort was taken by the Spaniards. The two prize boats were by no means large enough to carry all the goods which the Buccaneers proposed to take from *Lavelia*; and on that account directions had been dispatched to the people in the canoes at the entrance of the river to advance up towards the town. These directions they attempted to execute; but the land bordering the river was woody, which exposed the canoes to the fire of a concealed enemy, and after losing one man, they desisted from advancing. For the same cause, it was thought proper not to send off the two loaded boats without a strong guard, and they did not move during this day. The Buccaneers sent a letter to the Spanish Alcalde, to demand if he would ransom the town, the merchandise, and the prisoners; but the Alcalde refused to treat with them. In the afternoon therefore, they set fire to the town, and marched to the landing-place where the two boats lay, and there rested for the night.

The river of *Lavelia* is broad, but shallow. Vessels of forty tons can go a league and a half within the entrance. The landing-place is yet a league and a half farther up, and the town is a quarter of a mile from the landing-place\*.

On the morning of the 25th, the two boats, laden as deep as was safe, began to fall down the river, having on board nine men to conduct them. The main body of the Buccaneers at the same time marched along the bank on one side of the river for their protection. A body of Spaniards skreened by the woods, and unseen by the Buccaneers, kept pace with them

CHAP. 23

1686.

June.

24th,  
At Lavelia.The Town  
set on fire.River of  
*Lavelia*.

25th.

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\* *Raveneau de Lussan*, p. 117.

CHAP. 23.

1686.

June.

At Lavelia.

them on the other side of the river, at a small distance within the bank. The Buccaneers had marched about a league, and the boats had descended as far, when they came to a point of land on which the trees and underwood grew so thick as not to be penetrated without some labour and expence of time, to which they did not choose to submit, but preferred making a circuit which took them about a quarter of a mile from the river. The Spaniards on the opposite side were on the watch, and not slow in taking advantage of their absence. They came to the bank, whence they fired upon the men in the laden boats, four of whom they killed, and wounded one; the other four abandoned the boats and escaped into the thicket. The Spaniards took possession of the boats, and finding there the wounded Buccaneer, they cut off his head and fixed it on a stake which they set up by the side of the river at a place by which the rest of the Buccaneers would necessarily have to pass.

The main body of the Buccaneers regained the side of the river in ignorance of what had happened; and not seeing the boats, were for a time in doubt whether they were gone forward, or were still behind. The first notice they received of their loss was from the men who had escaped from the boats, who made their way through the thicket and joined them.

Thus did this crew of Buccaneers, within a short space of time, win by circumspection and adroitness, and lose by negligence, the richest booty they had ever made. If quitting the bank of the river had been a matter of necessity, and unavoidable, there was nothing but idleness to prevent their conveying their plunder the remainder of the distance to their boats by land.

In making their way through the woods, they found the rudder, sails, and other furniture of the Spanish barks in the river; the barks themselves were near at hand, and the  
Buccaneers

Buccaneers embarked in them; but the flood tide making, they came to an anchor, and lay still for the night.

CHAP. 23.

1686.

Junc.

26th.

The next morning, as they descended the river, they saw the boats which they had so richly freighted, now cleared of their lading and broken to pieces; and near to their wreck, was the head which the Spaniards had stuck up. This spectacle, added to the mortifying loss of their booty, threw the Buccaneers into a frenzy, and they forthwith cut off the heads of four prisoners, and set them on poles in the same place. In the passage down the river, four more of the Buccaneers were killed by the firing of the Spaniards from the banks.

The day after their retreat from the river of *Lavelia*, a Spaniard went off to them to treat for the release of the prisoners, and they came to an agreement that 10,000 pieces of eight should be paid for their ransom. Some among them who had wives were permitted to go on shore that they might assist in procuring the money; but on the 29th, the same messenger again went off and acquainted them that the *Alcalde Major* would not only not suffer the relations of the prisoners to send money for their ransom, but that he had arrested some of those whom the Buccaneers had allowed to land. On receiving this report, these savages without hesitation cut off the heads of two of their prisoners, and delivered them to the messenger, to be carried to the *Alcalde*, with their assurance that if the ransom did not speedily arrive, the rest of the prisoners would be treated in the same manner. The next day the ransom was settled for the remaining prisoners, and for one of the captured barks; the Spaniards paying partly with money, partly with provisions and necessaries, and with the release of the Buccaneer they had taken. In the agreement for the bark, the Spaniards required a note specifying that if the Buccaneers again met her, they should make prize only of the cargo, and not of the vessel.

27th.

After the destruction of *Lavelia*, it might be supposed that

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N N

the

**CHAP. 23.** the perpetrators of so much mischief would not be allowed  
 1686. with impunity to remain in the *Bay of Panama*; but such was  
 July. the weakness or negligence of the Spaniards, that this small  
 In the Bay of Panama. body of freebooters continued several months in this same  
 neighbourhood, and at times under the very walls of the City.  
 On another point, however, the Spaniards were more active,  
 and with success; for they concluded a treaty of peace and  
 alliance with the Indians of the *Isthmus*, in consequence of  
 which, the passage overland through the Darien country was  
 no longer open to the Buccaneers; and some small parties  
 of them who attempted to travel across, were intercepted and  
 cut off by the Spaniards, with the assistance of the natives.

The Spaniards had at *Panama* a military corps distinguished  
 by the appellation of Greeks, which was composed of Europeans  
 of different nations, not natives of *Spain*. Among the atrocities  
 committed by the crew under Townley, they put to death  
 one of these Greeks, who was also Commander of a Spanish  
 vessel, because on examining him for intelligence, they thought  
 he endeavoured to deceive them; and in aggravation of the  
 deed, Lussan relates the circumstance in the usual manner  
 of his pleasantries, 'we paid him for his treachery by sending  
 ' him to the other world.'

August. On the 20th of August, as they were at anchor within sight  
 of the city of *Panama*, they observed boats passing and repass-  
 ing between some vessels and the shore, and a kind of bustle  
 which had the appearance of an equipment. The next day, the  
 Battle with Spanish armed Ships. Buccaneers anchored near the Island *Taboga*; and there, on the  
 morning of the 22d, they were attacked by three armed vessels  
 from *Panama*. The Spaniards were provided with cannon, and  
 the battle lasted half the day, when, owing to an explosion  
 of gunpowder in one of the Spanish vessels, the victory was  
 decided in favour of the Buccaneers. Two of the three Spanish  
 vessels were taken, as was also one other, which during the  
 fight

fight arrived from *Panama* as a reinforcement. In the last mentioned prize, cords were found prepared for binding their prisoners in the event of their being victorious ; and this, the Buccaneers deemed provocation sufficient for them to slaughter the whole crew. This battle, so fatal to the Spaniards, cost the Buccaneers only one man killed outright, and 22 wounded. Townley was among the wounded.

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1686.  
August.  
In the Bay  
of Panama.

Two of the prizes were immediately manned from the canoes, the largest under the command of *Le Picard*, who was the chief among the French of this party.

They had many prisoners ; and one was sent with a letter to the President of *Panama*, to demand ransom for them ; also medicines and dressings for the wounded, and the release of five Buccaneers who they learnt were prisoners to the Spaniards. The medicines were sent, but the President would not treat either of ransom, or of the release of the buccaneer prisoners. The Buccaneers dispatched a second message to the President, in which they threatened that if the five Buccaneers were not immediately delivered to them, the heads of all the Spaniards in their possession, should be sent to him. The President paid little attention to this message, not believing that such a threat would be executed ; but the Bishop of *Panama*, regarding what had recently happened at *Lavelia* as an earnest of what the Buccaneers were capable, was seriously alarmed. He wrote a letter to them which he sent by a special messenger, in which he exhorted them in the mildest terms not to shed the blood of innocent men, and promised if they would have patience, to exert his influence to procure the release of the buccaneer prisoners. His letter concluded with the following remarkable paragraph, which shews the great hopes entertained by the Roman Catholics respecting *Great Britain* during the Reign of King James the 2d. ‘ *I have information,*’ says the Bishop,

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‘ to



CHAP. 23. 'to give you, that the English are all become Roman Catholics,  
1686. 'and that there is now a Catholic Church at Jamaica.'

August. The good Prelate's letter was pronounced by the Buccaneers  
In the Bay to be void of truth and sincerity, and an insult to their under-  
of Panama. standing. They had already received the price of blood, shed  
not in battle nor in their own defence; and now, devoting  
themselves to their thirst for gain, they would not be diverted  
from their sanguinary purpose, but came to the resolution of  
sending the heads of twenty Spaniards to the President, and  
with them a message purporting that if they did not receive a  
satisfactory answer to all their demands by the 28th of the  
month, the heads of the remaining prisoners should answer for  
it. Lussan says, 'the President's refusal obliged us, though  
'with some reluctance, to take the resolution to send him  
'twenty heads of his people in a canoe. This method was  
'indeed a little violent, but it was the only way to bring the  
'Spaniards to reason\*.'

What they had resolved they put into immediate execution.  
The President of *Panama* was entirely overcome by their in-  
human proceedings, and in the first shock and surprise, he  
yielded without stipulation to all they had demanded. On  
the 28th, the buccaneer prisoners (four Englishmen and one  
Frenchman) were delivered to them, with a letter from the  
President, who said he left to their own conscience the disposal  
of the Spanish prisoners yet remaining in their hands.

To render the triumph of cruelty and ferocity more complete,  
the Buccaneers, in an answer to the President, charged the  
whole blame of what they had done to his obstinacy; in ex-  
change for the five Buccaneers, they sent only twelve of their  
Spanish prisoners; and they demanded 20,000 pieces of eight

as

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\* 'Ce moyen étoit à la vérité un peu violent, mais c'étoit l'unique pour mettre les  
'Espagnols à la raison.'

as ransom of the remainder, which demand however, they afterwards mitigated to half that sum and a supply of refreshments. On the 4th of September, the ransom was paid, and the prisoners were released.

CHAP. 23.

1686.

September.  
In the Bay  
of Panama.

Death of  
Townley.

September the 9th, the buccaneer commander, Townley, died of the wound he received in the last battle. The English and French Buccaneers were faithful associates, but did not mix well as comrades. In a short time after Townley's death, the English desired that a division should be made of the prize vessels, artillery, and stores, and that those of their nation should keep together in the same vessels: and this was done, without other separation taking place at the time.

In November, they left the *Bay of Panama*, and sailed Westward to their old station near the *Point de Burica*, where, by surprising small towns, villages, and farms, a business at which they had become extremely expert, they procured provisions; and by the ransom of prisoners, some money.

November.

On the  
Coast of  
New Spain.

In January (1687) they intercepted a letter from the Spanish Commandant at *Sonsonate* addressed to the President of *Panama*, by which they learnt that Grognet had been in *Amapalla Bay*, and that three of his men had been taken prisoners. The Commandant remarked in his letter, that the peace made with the *Darien* Indians, having cut off the retreat of the Buccaneers, would drive them to desperation, and render them like so many mad dogs; he advised therefore that some means should be adopted to facilitate their retreat, that the Spaniards in the *South Sea* might again enjoy repose. 'They have landed,' he says, 'in these parts ten or twelve times, without knowing what they were seeking; but wheresoever they come, they spoil and lay waste every thing.'

1687.

January.

A few days after intercepting this letter, they took prisoner a Spanish horseman. Lussan says, 'We interrogated him with  
' the

CHAP. 23. ' the usual ceremonies, that is to say, we gave him the torture,  
1687. ' to make him tell us what we wanted to know.'

January. Many such villanies were undoubtedly committed by these  
On the banditti, more than appear in their Narratives, or than they  
Coast of dared to make known. Lussan, who writes a history of his  
New Spain. voyage, not before the end of the second year of his adventures  
in the *South Sea*, relates that they put a prisoner to the torture ;  
and it would have appeared as an individual instance, if he had  
not, probably through inadvertence, acknowledged it to have  
been their established practice. Lussan on his return to his  
native land, pretended to reputation and character ; and he  
found countenance and favour from his superiors ; it is there-  
fore to be presumed, that he would suppress every transac-  
tion in which he was a participator, which he thought of too  
deep a nature to be received by his patrons with indulgence.  
A circumstance which tended to make this set of Buccaneers  
worse than any that had preceded them, was, its being com-  
posed of men of two nations between which there has existed  
a constant jealousy and emulation. They were each ambitious  
to outdo the other in acts of daringness, and were thereby  
instigated to every kind of excess.

Grogniet rejoins them. On the 20th, near *Caldera Bay*, they met Grogniet with  
sixty French Buccaneers in three canoes. Grogniet had parted  
from Townley at the head of 148 men. They had made several  
descents on the coast. At the *Bay of Amapalla*, they marched  
14 leagues within the coast to a gold-mine, where they took  
many prisoners, and a small quantity of gold. Grogniet wished  
to return overland to the West-Indian Sea, but the majority  
of his companions were differently inclined, and 85 quitted  
him, and went to try their fortunes towards *California*. Grogniet  
nevertheless persevered in the design with the remainder of his  
crew, to seek some part of the coast of *New Spain*, thin of  
inhabitants,

inhabitants, where they might land unknown to the Spaniards, and march without obstruction through the country to the shore of the *Atlantic*, without other guide than a compass. The party they now met with, prevailed on them to defer the execution of this project to a season of the year more favourable, and in the mean time to unite with them.

CHAP. 23.  
1687.

In February, they set fire to the town of *Nicoya*. Their gains by these descents were so small, that they agreed to leave the coast of *New Spain* and to go against *Guayaquil*; but on coming to this determination, the English and the French fell into high dispute for the priority of choice in the prize vessels which they expected to take, insomuch that upon this difference they broke off partnership. Grognet however, and about fifty of the French, remained with the English, which made the whole number of that party 142 men, and they all embarked in one ship, the canoes not being safe for an open sea navigation. The other party numbered 162 men, all French, and embarked in a small ship and a *Barca longa*. The most curious circumstance attending this separation was, that both parties persevered in the design upon *Guayaquil*, without any proposal being made by either to act in concert. They sailed from the coast of *New Spain* near the end of February, not in company, but each using all their exertions to arrive first at the place of destination. They crossed the Equinoctial line separately, but afterwards at sea accidentally fell in company with each other again, and at this meeting they accommodated their differences, and renewed their partnership.

February.  
They divide.

Both Parties sail for the Coast of Peru.

They meet again, and reunite.

April the 13th, they were near *Point Santa Elena*, on the coast of *Peru*, and met there a prize vessel belonging to their old Commander Edward Davis and his Company, but which had been separated from him. She was laden with corn and wine, and eight of Davis's men had the care of her. They had been

April.

CHAP. 23. been directed in case of separation, to rendezvous at the Island  
 1687. *Plata*; but the uncertainty of meeting Davis there, and the  
 April. danger they should incur if they missed him, made them glad to  
 join in the expedition against *Guayaquil*, and the provisions  
 with which the vessel was laden, made them welcome associates  
 to the Buccaneers engaged in it.

Attack on Their approach to the City of *Guayaquil* was conducted with  
 Guayaquil. the most practised circumspection and vigilance. On first  
 getting sight of *Point Santa Elena*, they took in their sails and  
 lay with them furled as long as there was daylight. In the  
 night they pursued their course, keeping at a good distance  
 from the land, till they were to the Southward of the *Island*  
 15th. *Santa Clara*. Two hundred and sixty men then (April the 15th)  
 departed from the ships in canoes. They landed at *Santa Clara*,  
 which was uninhabited, and at a part of the *Island Puna* distant  
 from any habitation, proceeding only during the night  
 time, and lying in concealment during the day.

In the night of the 17th, they approached the *River Guaya-*  
 18th. *quil*: At daylight, they were perceived by a guard on watch  
 near the entrance, who lighted a fire as a signal to other  
 guards stationed farther on; by whom, however, the signal  
 was not observed. The Buccaneers put as speedily as they  
 could to the nearest land, and a party of the most alert made  
 a circuit through the woods, and surprised the guard at the  
 first signal station, before the alarm had spread farther. They  
 19th. stopped near the entrance till night. All day of the 19th, they  
 rested at an Island in the river, and at night advanced again.  
 Their intention was to have passed the town in their canoes,  
 and to have landed above it, where they would be the least  
 expected; but the tide of flood with which they ascended the  
 river did not serve long enough for their purpose, and on the  
 20th. 20th, two hours before day, they landed a short distance below  
 the

the town, towards which they began to march; but the ground was marshy and overgrown with brushwood. Thus far they had proceeded undiscovered; when one of the Buccaneers left to guard the canoes struck a light to smoke tobacco, which was perceived by a Spanish sentinel on the shore opposite, who immediately fired his piece, and gave alarm to the Fort and Town. This discovery and the badness of the road caused the Buccaneers to defer the attack till daylight. The town of *Guayaquil* is built round a mountain, on which were three forts which overlooked the town. The Spaniards made a tolerable defence, but by the middle of the day they were driven from all their forts, and the town was left to the Buccaneers, detachments of whom were sent to endeavour to bring in prisoners, whilst a chosen party went to the Great Church to chant *Te Deum*.

CHAP. 23.

1687.

April.

The City  
taken.

Nine Buccaneers were killed and twelve wounded in the attack. The booty found in the town was considerable in jewels, merchandise, and silver, particularly in church plate, besides 92,000 dollars in money, and they took seven hundred prisoners, among whom were the Governor and his family. Fourteen vessels lay at anchor in the Port, and two ships were on the stocks nearly fit for launching.

On the evening of the day that the city was taken, the Governor (being a prisoner) entered into treaty with the Buccaneers, for the City, Fort, Shipping, himself, and all the prisoners, to be redeemed for a million pieces of eight, to be paid in gold, and 400 packages of flour; and to hasten the procurement of the money, which was to be brought from *Quito*, the Vicar General of the district, who was also a prisoner, was released.

The 21st, in the night, by the carelessness of a Buccaneer, one of the houses took fire, which communicated to other

21st.

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O o

houses

CHAP. 23.

1687.

April.

At  
Guayaquil.

houses with such rapidity, that one third of the city was destroyed before its progress was stopped. It had been specified in the treaty, that the Buccaneers should not set fire to the town; 'therefore,' says Lussan, 'lest in consequence of this accident, the Spaniards should refuse to pay the ransom, we pretended to believe it was their doing.'

24th.

At the  
Island  
Puna.May.  
Grognet  
dies.

Many bodies of the Spaniards killed in the assault of the town, remained unburied where they had fallen, and the Buccaneers were apprehensive that some infectious disorder would thereby be produced. They hastened therefore to embark on board the vessels in the port, their plunder and 500 of their prisoners, with which, on the 25th, they fell down the River to the *Island Puna*, where they proposed to wait for the ransom.

On the 2d of May, Captain Grognet died of a wound he received at *Guayaquil*. Le Picard was afterwards the chief among the French Buccaneers.

The 5th of May had been named for the payment of the ransom, from which time the money was daily and with increasing impatience expected by the Buccaneers. It was known that Spanish ships of war were equipping at *Callao* purposely to attack them; and also that their former Commander, Edward Davis, with a good ship, was near this part of the coast. They were anxious to have his company, and on the 4th, dispatched a galley to seek him at the *Island Plata*, the place of rendezvous he had appointed for his prize.

The 5th passed without any appearance of ransom money; as did many following days. The Spaniards, however, regularly sent provisions to the ships at *Puna* every day, otherwise the prisoners would have starved; but in lieu of money they substituted nothing better than promises. The Buccaneers would have felt it humiliation to appear less ferocious than on former occasions,

occasions, and they recurred to their old mode of intimidation. They made the prisoners throw dice to determine which of them should die, and the heads of four on whom the lot fell were delivered to a Spanish officer in answer to excuses for delay which he had brought from the Lieutenant Governor of *Guayaquil*, with an intimation that at the end of four days more five hundred heads should follow, if the ransom did not arrive.

CHAP. 23.

1687.

May.

At the  
Island  
Puna.

On the 14th, their galley which had been sent in search of Davis returned, not having found him at the Island *Plata*; but she brought notice of two strange sail being near the Cape *Santa Elena*. These proved to be Edward Davis's ship, and a prize. Davis had received intelligence, as already mentioned, of the Buccaneers having captured *Guayaquil*, and was now come purposely to join them. He sent his prize to the Buccaneers at *Puna*, and remained with his own ship in the offing on the look-out.

14th.

Edward  
Davis  
joins  
Le Picard.

The four days allowed for the payment of the ransom expired, and no ransom was sent; neither did the Buccaneers execute their sanguinary threat. It is worthy of remark, that intreaty or intercession made to this set of Buccaneers, so far from obtaining remission or favour, at all times produced the opposite effect, as if reminding them of their power, instigated them to an imperious display of it. The Lieutenant Governor of *Guayaquil* was in no haste to fulfil the terms of the treaty made by the Governor, nor did he importune them with solicitations, and the whole business for a time lay at rest. The forbearance of the Buccaneers may not unjustly be attributed to Davis having joined them.

On the 23d, the Spaniards paid to the Buccaneers as much gold as amounted in value to 20,000 pieces of eight, and eighty packages of flour, as part of the ransom. The day following,

23d.

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the



CHAP. 23.

1687.

May.

At the  
Island  
Puna.

the Lieutenant Governor sent word, that they might receive 22,000 pieces of eight more for the release of the prisoners, and if that sum would not satisfy them, they might do their worst, for that no greater would be paid them. Upon this message, the Buccaneers held a consultation, whether they should cut off the heads of all the prisoners, or take the 22,000 pieces of eight, and it was determined, not unanimously, but by a majority of voices, that it was better to take a little money than to cut off many heads.

Lussan, his own biographer and a young man, boasts of the pleasant manner in which he passed his time at *Puna*. 'We made good cheer, being daily supplied with refreshments from *Guayaquil*. We had concerts of music; we had the best performers of the city among our prisoners. Some among us engaged in friendships with our women prisoners, who were not hard hearted.' This is said by way of prelude to a history which he gives of his own good fortune; all which, whether true or otherwise, serves to shew, that among this abandoned crew the prisoners of both sexes were equally unprotected.

26th.

On the 26th, the 22,000 pieces of eight were paid to the Buccaneers, who selected a hundred prisoners of the most consideration to retain, and released the rest. The same day, they quitted their anchorage at *Puna*, intending to anchor again at *Point Santa Elena*, and there to enter afresh into negociation for ransom of prisoners: but in the evening, two Spanish Ships of War came in sight.

See pp. 196  
to 200.

The engagement which ensued, and other proceedings of the Buccaneers, until Edward Davis parted company to return homeward by the South of *America*, has been related. It remains to give an account of the French Buccaneers after the separation, to their finally quitting the *South Sea*.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Retreat of the French Buccaneers across New Spain to the West Indies. All the Buccaneers quit the South Sea.*

THE party left by Davis consisted of 250 Buccaneers, the greater number of whom were French, the rest were English, and their leaders Le Picard and George Hout. They had determined to quit the *South Sea*, and with that view to sail to the coast of *New Spain*, whence they proposed to march over land to the shore of the *Caribbean Sea*.

C H A P. 24.

1687.

June.

Le Picard  
and Hout.

About the end of July, they anchored in the *Bay of Amapalla*, and were joined there by thirty French Buccaneers. These thirty were part of a crew which had formerly quitted Grognet to cruise towards *California*. Others of that party were still on the coast to the North-West, and the Buccaneers in *Amapalla Bay* put to sea in search of them, that all of their fraternity in the *South Sea* might be collected, and depart together.

July.

On the  
Coast of  
New Spain.

In the search after their former companions, they landed at different places on the coast of *New Spain*. Among their adventures here, they took, and remained four days in possession of, the Town of *Tecoantepeque*, but without any profit to themselves. At *Guatulco*, they plundered some plantations, and obtained provisions in ransom for prisoners. Whilst they lay there at anchor, they saw a vessel in the offing, which from her appearance, and manner of working her sails, they believed to contain the people they were seeking; but the wind and sea set so strong on the shore at the time, that neither their vessels nor boats could go out to ascertain what she was; and after that day, they did not see her again.

In

## CHAP. 24.

1687.  
December.  
In  
Amapalla  
Bay.

In the middle of December they returned to the *Bay of Amapalla*, which they had fixed upon for the place of their departure from the shores of the *South Sea*. Their plan was, to march by the town of *Nueva Segovia*, which had before been visited by Buccaneers, and they now expected would furnish them with provisions. According to Lussan's information, the distance they would have to travel by land from *Amapalla Bay*, was about 60 leagues, when they would come to the source of a river, by which they could descend to the *Caribbean Sea*, near to *Cape Gracias a Dios*.

Whilst they made preparation for their march, they were anxious to obtain intelligence what force the Spaniards had in their proposed route, but the natives kept at a distance. On the 18th, seventy Buccaneers landed and marched into the country, of which adventure Lussan gives the account following. They travelled the whole day without meeting an inhabitant. They rested for the night, and next morning proceeded in their journey, but all seemed a desert, and about noon, the majority were dissatisfied and turned back. Twenty went on; and soon after came to a beaten road, on which they perceived three horsemen riding towards them, whom they way-laid so effectually as to take them all. By these men they learnt the way to a small town named *Chiloteca*, to which they went and there made fifty of the inhabitants prisoners. They took up their quarters in the church, where they also lodged their prisoners, and intended to have rested during the night; but after dark, they heard much bustle in the town, which made them apprehensive the Spaniards were preparing to attack them, and the noise caused in the prisoners the appearance of a disposition to rise; upon which, the Buccaneers slew them all except four, whom they carried away with them, and reached the vessels without being molested in their retreat.

Massacre of  
Prisoners.

The

The prisoners were interrogated ; and the accounts they gave confirmed the Buccaneers in the opinion that they had no better chance of transporting themselves and their plunder to the *North Sea*, than by immediately setting about the execution of the plan they had formed. To settle the order of the march, they landed their riches and the stores necessary for their journey, on one of the Islands in the Bay ; and that their number might not suffer diminution by the defection of any, it was agreed to destroy the vessels, which was executed forthwith, with the reserve of one galley and the canoes, which were necessary for the transport of themselves and their effects to the main land. They made a muster of their force, which they divided into four companies, each consisting of seventy men, and every man having his arms and accoutrements. Whilst these matters were arranging, a detachment of 100 men were sent to the main land to endeavour to get horses.

They had destroyed their vessels, and had not removed from the Island, when a large Spanish armed ship anchored in *Amapalla Bay* ; but she was not able to give them annoyance, nor in the least to impede their operations. On the 1st of January, 1688, they passed over, with their effects, to the main land, and the same day, the party which had gone in search of horses, returned, bringing with them sixty-eight, which were divided equally among the four companies, to be employed in carrying stores and provisions, as were eighty prisoners, who besides being carriers of stores, were made to carry the sick and wounded. Every Buccaneer had his particular sack, or package, which it was required should contain his ammunition ; what else, was at his own discretion.

Many of these Buccaneers had more silver than themselves were able to carry. There were also many who had neither silver nor gold, and were little encumbered with effects of their own :

CHAP. 24.

1687.

December.

In  
Amapalla  
Bay.The  
Buccaneers  
burn their  
Vessels.1688.  
January.

CHAP. 24.

1688.

January.

In  
Amapalla  
Bay.

own: these light freighted gentry were glad to be hired as porters to the rich, and the contract for carrying silver, on this occasion, was one half; that is to say, that on arriving at the *North Sea*, there should be an equal division between the employer and the carrier. Carriage of gold or other valuables was according to particular agreement. Lussan, who no doubt was as sharp a rogue as any among his companions, relates of himself, that he had been fortunate at play, and that his winnings added to his share of plunder, amounted to 30,000 pieces of eight, the whole of which he had converted into gold and jewels; and that whilst they were making ready for their march, he received warning from a friend that a gang had been formed by about twenty of the poorer Buccaneers, with the intention to waylay and strip those of their brethren, who had been most fortunate. On considering the danger and great difficulty of having to guard against the machinations of hungry conspirators who were to be his fellow-travellers in a long journey, and might have opportunities to perpetrate their mischievous intentions during any fight with the Spaniards, Lussan came to the resolution of making a sacrifice of part of his riches to insure the remaining part, and to lessen the temptation to any individual to seek his death. To this end he divided his treasure into a number of small parcels, which he confided to the care of so many of his companions, making agreement with each for the carriage.

Retreat  
of the  
Buccaneers  
over land  
to the West  
Indian Sea.

January the 2d, in the morning, they began their march, an advanced guard being established to consist of ten men from each company, who were to be relieved every morning by ten others. At night they rested at four leagues distance, according to their estimation, from the border of the sea.

The first part of Lussan's account of this journey has little of adventure or description. The difficulties experienced were what

what had been foreseen, such as the inhabitants driving away cattle and removing provisions, setting fire to the dry grass when it could annoy them in their march; and sometimes the Buccaneers were fired at by unseen shooters. They rested at villages and farms when they found any in their route, where, and also by making prisoners, they obtained provisions. When no habitations or buildings were at hand, they generally encamped at night on a hill, or in open ground. Very early in their march they were attended by a body of Spanish troops at a small distance, the music of whose trumpets afforded them entertainment every morning and evening; ‘but,’ says Lussan, ‘it was like the music of the enchanted palace of Psyche, which was heard without the musicians being visible.’

CHAP. 24.  
1688.  
January.  
Retreat  
of the  
Buccaneers  
over land  
to the  
West Indies.

On the forenoon of the 9th, notwithstanding their vigilance, the Buccaneers were saluted with an unexpected volley of musketry which killed two men; and this was the only mischance that befel them in their march from the Western Sea to *Segovia*, which town they entered on the 11th of January, without hindrance, and found it without inhabitants, and cleared of every kind of provisions.

‘The town of *Segovia* is situated in a vale, and is so surrounded with mountains that it seems to be a prisoner there. The churches are ill built. The place of arms, or parade, is large and handsome, as are many of the houses. It is distant from the shore of the *South Sea* forty leagues: The road is difficult, the country being extremely mountainous.’

Town of  
New  
*Segovia*.

On the 12th, they left *Segovia* and without injuring the houses, a forbearance to which they had little accustomed themselves; but present circumstances brought to their consideration that if it should be their evil fortune to be called to account, it might be quite as well for them not to add the burning of *Segovia* to the reckoning.

CHAP. 24.

1688.

January.

Retreat  
over land.

The 13th, an hour before sunset, they ascended a hill, which appeared a good station to occupy for the night. When they arrived at the summit, they perceived on the slope of the next mountain before them, a great number of horses grazing (Lussan says between twelve and fifteen hundred), which at the first sight they mistook for horned cattle, and congratulated each other on the near prospect of a good meal; but it was soon discovered they were horses, and that a number of them were saddled: intrenchments also were discerned near the same place, and finally, troops. This part of the country was a thick forest, with deep gullies, and not intersected with any path excepting the road they were travelling, which led across the mountain where the Spaniards were intrenched. On reconnoitring the position of the Spaniards, the road beyond them was seen to the right of the intrenchments. The Buccaneers on short consultation, determined that they would endeavour under cover of the night to penetrate the wood to their right, so as to arrive at the road beyond the Spanish camp, and come on it by surprise.

This plan was similar to that which they had projected at *Guayaquil*, and was a business exactly suited to the habits and inclinations of these adventurers, who more than any other of their calling, or perhaps than the native tribes of *North America*, were practised and expert in veiling their purpose so as not to awaken suspicion; in concealing themselves by day and making silent advances by night, and in all the arts by which even the most wary may be ensnared. Here, immediately after fixing their plan, they began to intrench and fortify the ground they occupied, and made all the dispositions which troops usually do who halt for the night. This encampment, besides impressing the Spaniards with the belief that they intended to pass the  
night

night in repose, was necessary to the securing their baggage and prisoners. CHAP. 24.

1688.

January.

Retreat  
over land.

Rest seemed necessary and due to the Buccaneers after a toilsome day's march, and so it was thought by the Spanish Commander, who seeing them fortify their quarters, doubted not that they meant to do themselves justice ; but an hour after the close of day, two hundred Buccaneers departed from their camp. The moon shone out bright, which gave them light to penetrate the woods, whilst the woods gave them concealment from the Spaniards, and the Spaniards kept small lookout. Before midnight, they were near enough to hear the Spaniards chanting Litanies, and long before daylight were in the road beyond the Spanish encampment. They waited till the day broke, and then pushed for the camp, which, as had been conjectured, was entirely open on this side. Two Spanish sentinels discovered the approach of the enemy, and gave alarm ; but the Buccaneers were immediately after in the camp, and the Spanish troops disturbed from their sleep had neither time nor recollection for any other measure than to save themselves by flight. They abandoned all the intrenchments, and the Buccaneers being masters of the pass, were soon joined by the party who had charge of the baggage and prisoners. In this affair, the loss of the Buccaneers was only two men killed, and four wounded.

In the remaining part of their journey, they met no serious obstruction, and were not at any time distressed by a scarcity of provisions. Lussan says they led from the Spanish encampment 900 horses, which served them for carriage, for present food, and to salt for future provision when they should arrive at the sea shore.

On the 17th of January, which was the 16th of their journey, they came to the banks of a river by which they were to

Rio de  
Yare, or  
Cape River.

P P 2

descend



CHAP. 24. descend to the *Caribbean Sea*. This river has its source among  
 1688. the mountains of *Nueva Segovia*, and falls into the sea to the  
 January. South of *Cape Gracias a Dios* about 14 leagues, according to  
 Retreat D'Anville's Map, in which it is called *Rio de Yare*. Dampier  
 across the makes it fall into the sea something more to the Southward,  
 Isthmus and names it the *Cape River*.  
 to the West  
 Indian Sea.

The country here was not occupied nor frequented by the Spaniards, and was inhabited only in a few places by small tribes of native Americans. The Buccaneers cut down trees, and made rafts or catamarans for the conveyance of themselves and their effects down the stream. On account of the falls, the rafts were constructed each to carry no more than two persons with their luggage, and every man went provided with a pole to guide the raft clear of rocks and shallows.

In the commencement of this fresh-water navigation, their maritime experience, with all the pains they could take, did not prevent their getting into whirlpools, where the rafts were overturned, with danger to the men and frequently with the loss of part of the lading. When they came to a fall which appeared more than usually dangerous, they put ashore, took their rafts to pieces, and carried all below the fall, where they re-accommodated matters and embarked again. The rapidity of the stream meeting many obstructions, raised a foam and spray that kept every thing on the rafts constantly wet; the salted horse flesh was in a short time entirely spoilt, and their ammunition in a state not to be of service in supplying them with game. Fortunately for them the banks of the river abounded in banana-trees, both wild and in plantations.

When they first embarked on the river, the rafts went in close company; but the irregularity and violence of the stream, continually entangled and drove them against each other, on which account the method was changed, and distances preserved.

preserved. This gave opportunity to the desperadoes who had conspired against their companions to commence their operations, which they directed against five Englishmen, whom they killed and despoiled. The murderers absconded in the woods with their prey, and were not afterwards seen by the company.

The 20th of February they had passed all the falls, and were at a broad deep and smooth part of the river, where they found no other obstruction than trees and drift-wood floating. As they were near the sea, many stopped and began to build canoes. Some English Buccaneers who went lower down the river, found at anchor an English vessel belonging to *Jamaica*, from which they learnt that the French Government had just proclaimed an amnesty in favour of those who since the Peace made with *Spain* had committed acts of piracy, upon condition of their claiming the benefit of the Proclamation within a specified time. A similar proclamation had been issued in the year 1687 by the English Government; but as it was not clear from the report made by the crew of the *Jamaica* vessel, whether it yet operated, the English Buccaneers would not embark for *Jamaica*. They sent by two Mosquito Indians, an account of the news they had heard to the French Buccaneers, with notice that there was a vessel at the mouth of the river capable of accommodating not more than forty persons. Immediately on receiving the intelligence, above a hundred of the French set off in all haste for the vessel, every one of whom pretended to be of the forty. Those who first arrived on board, took up the anchor as speedily as they could, and set sail, whilst those who were behind called loudly for a decision by lot or dice; but the first comers were content to rest their title on possession.

The English Buccaneers remained for the present with the Mosquito Indians near *Cape Gracias a Dios*, 'who,' says Lussan, 'have an affection for the English, on account of the  
' many

CHAP. 24.

1688.

Retreat  
across the  
Isthmus  
to the West  
Indian Sea.  
February.

CHAP. 24. 'many little commodities which they bring them from the  
1688. 'Island of *Jamaica*.' The greater part of the French Buccaneers went to the French settlements; but seventy-five of them who went to *Jamaica*, were apprehended and detained prisoners by the Duke of Albemarle, who was then Governor, and their effects sequestrated. They remained in prison until the death of the Duke, which happened in the following year, when they were released; but neither their arms nor plunder were returned to them.

The *South Sea* was now cleared of the main body of the Buccaneers. A few stragglers remained, concerning whom some scattered notices are found, of which the following are the heads.

*La Pava*. Seixas mentions an English frigate named *La Pava*, being wrecked in the *Strait of Magalhanes* in the year 1687; and that her loss was occasioned by currents\*. By the name being Spanish (signifying the Hen) this vessel must have been a prize to the Buccaneers.

*Captain Straiton*. In the Narrative of the loss of the *Wager*, by Bulkeley and Cummins, it is mentioned that they found at *Port Desire* cut on a brick, in very legible characters, "Captain Straiton, 16 cannon, 1687." Most probably this was meant of a Buccaneer vessel.

*Le Sage*. At the time that the English and French Buccaneers were crossing the *Isthmus* in great numbers from the *West Indies* to the *South Sea*, two hundred French Buccaneers departed from *Hispaniola* in a ship commanded by a Captain *Le Sage*, intending to go to the *South Sea* by the *Strait of Magalhanes*; but having chosen a wrong season of the year for that passage, and finding the winds unfavourable, they stood over to the coast of *Africa*, where they continued cruising two years, and returned to the

*West*

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\* *Theatro Naval*. fol. 61, 1.

*West Indies* with great booty, obtained at the expence of the CHAP. 24.  
Hollanders.

The small crew of French Buccaneers in the *South Sea* who were a part of those who had separated from Grognet to cruise near *California*, and for whom Le Picard had sought in vain on the coast of *New Spain*, were necessitated by the smallness of their force, and the bad state of their vessel, to shelter themselves at the *Tres Marias Islands* in the entrance of the *Gulf of California*. It is said that they remained four years among those Islands, at the end of which time, they determined, rather than to pass the rest of their lives in so desolate a place, to sail Southward, though with little other prospect or hope than that they should meet some of their former comrades; instead of which, on looking in at *Arica* on the coast of *Peru*, they found at anchor in the road a Spanish ship, which they took, and in her a large quantity of treasure. The Buccaneers embarked in their prize, and proceeded Southward for the *Atlantic*, but were cast ashore in the *Strait of Magalhanes*. Part of the treasure, and as much of the wreck of the vessel as served to construct two sloops, were saved, with which, after so many perils, they arrived safe in the *West Indies*.

Le Sieur Froger, in his account of the Voyage of M. de Gennes, has introduced a narrative of a party of French Buccaneers or Flibustiers going from *Saint Domingo* to the *South Sea*, in the year 1686; which is evidently a romance fabricated from the descriptions which had been given of their general courses and habits. These *protégés* of Le Sieur Froger, like the Buccaneer crew from the *Tres Marias Islands* just mentioned, were reduced to great distress,—took a rich prize afterwards on the coast of *Peru*,—were returning to the *Atlantic*, and lost their ship in the *Strait of Magalhanes*. They were ten months

Small Crew  
of  
Buccaneers  
at the  
*Tres Marias*.

Their  
Adventures,  
and Return  
to the  
*West Indies*.

Story  
related by  
Le Sieur  
Froger.

CHAP. 24. months in the *Strait* building a bark, which they loaded with the best of what they had saved of the cargo of their ship, and in the end arrived safe at *Cayenne*\*. Funnel also mentions a report which he heard, of a small crew of French Buccaneers, not more than twenty, whose adventures were of the same cast; and who probably were the *Tres Marias* Buccaneers.

It has been related that five Buccaneers who had gamed away their money, unwilling to return poor out of the *South Sea*, landed at the Island *Juan Fernandez* from Edward Davis's ship, about the end of the year 1687, and were left there. In 1690, the English ship *Welfare*, commanded by Captain John Strong, anchored at *Juan Fernandez*; of which voyage two journals have been preserved among the MSS in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, from which the following account is taken.

The *Farewell* arrived off the Island on the evening of October the 11th, 1690. In the night, those on board were surprised at seeing a fire on an elevated part of the land. Early next morning, a boat was sent on shore, which soon returned, bringing off from the Island two Englishmen. These were part of the five who had landed from Davis's ship. They piloted the *Welfare* to a good anchoring place.

Buccaneers  
who lived  
three years  
on the  
Island *Juan  
Fernandez*.

In the three years that they had lived on *Juan Fernandez*, they had not, until the arrival of the *Welfare*, seen any other ships than Spaniards, which was a great disappointment to them. The Spaniards had landed and had endeavoured to take them, but they had found concealment in the woods; one excepted, who deserted from his companions, and delivered himself up to the Spaniards. The four remaining, when they learnt that the Buccaneers had entirely quitted the *South Sea*, willingly embarked

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\* *Relation du Voyage de M. de Gennes*, p. 106. Paris, 1698.

embarked with Captain Strong, and with them four servants or CHAP. 24. slaves. Nothing is said of the manner in which they employed themselves whilst on the Island, except of their contriving subterraneous places of concealment that the Spaniards should not find them, and of their taming a great number of goats, so that at one time they had a tame stock of 300.

## C H A P. XXV.

*Steps taken towards reducing the Buccaneers and Flibustiers under subordination to the regular Governments. War of the Grand Alliance against France. The Neutrality of the Island Saint Christopher broken.*

CHAP. 25.

WHILST these matters were passing in the *Pacific Ocean*, small progress was made in the reform which had been begun in the *West Indies*. The English Governors by a few examples of severity restrained the English Buccaneers from undertaking any enterprise of magnitude. With the French, the case was different. The number of the Flibustiers who absented themselves from *Hispaniola*, to go to the *South Sea*, alarmed the French Government for the safety of their colonies, and especially of their settlements in *Hispaniola*, the security and defence of which against the Spaniards they had almost wholly rested on its being the place of residence and the home of those adventurers. To persist in a rigorous police against their cruising, it was apprehended would make the rest of them quit *Hispaniola*, for which reason it was judged prudent to relax in the enforcement of the prohibitions; the Flibustiers accordingly continued their courses as usual.

1686. In 1686, Granmont and De Graaf prepared an armament against *Campeachy*. M. de Cussy, who was Governor of *Tortuga* and the French part of *Hispaniola*, applied personally to them to relinquish their design; but as the force was collected, and all preparation made, neither the Flibustiers nor their Commanders would be dissuaded from the undertaking, and De Cussy submitted. *Campeachy* was plundered and burnt.

*Campeachy*  
burnt.

A measure

A measure was adopted by the French Government which certainly trenched on the honour of the regular military establishments of *France*, but was attended with success in bringing the Flibustiers more under control and rendering them more manageable. This was, the taking into the King's service some of the principal leaders of the Flibustiers, and giving them commissions of advanced rank, either in the land service or in the French marine. A commission was made out for Granmont, appointing him Commandant on the South coast of *Saint Domingo*, with the rank of Lieutenant du Roy. But of Granmont as a Buccaneer, it might be said in the language of sportsmen, that he was game to the last. Before the commission arrived, he received information of the honour intended him, and whilst yet in his state of liberty, was seized with the wish to make one more cruise. He armed a ship, and, with a crew of 180 Flibustiers in her, put to sea. This was near the end of the year 1686; and what afterwards became of him and his followers is not known, for they were not again seen or heard of.

CHAP. 25.

1686.

Granmont.

In the beginning of 1687, a commission arrived from *France*, appointing De Graaf Major in the King's army in the *West Indies*. He was then with a crew of Flibustiers near *Carthagera*. In this cruise, twenty-five of his men who landed in the *Gulf of Darien*, were cut off by the Darien Indians. De Graaf on his return into port accepted his commission, and when transformed to an officer in the King's army, became, like Morgan, a great scourge to the Flibustiers and *Forbans*.

1687.

In consequence of complaints made by the Spaniards, a Proclamation was issued at this time, by the King of *Great Britain*, James the II<sup>d</sup>, specified in the title to be 'for the more effectual reducing and suppressing of Pirates and Privateers in *America*, as well on the sea as on the land, who in

Proclamation against Pirates.



CHAP. 25. ' great numbers have committed frequent robberies, which hath  
 1688. ' occasioned great prejudice and obstruction to Trade and  
 ' Commerce.'

Danish  
 Factory  
 robbed by  
 the  
 Buccaneers.

A twenty years truce had, in the year 1686, been agreed upon between *France* and *Spain*, but scarcely a twentieth part of that time was suffered to elapse before it was broken in the *West Indies*. The Flibustiers of *Hispaniola* did not content themselves with their customary practice: in 1688 they plundered the Danish Factory at the Island *St. Thomas*, which is one of the small Islands called *the Virgins*, near the East end of *Porto Rico*. This was an aggression beyond the limits which they had professed to prescribe to their depredatory system, and it is not shewn that they had received injury at the hands of the Danes. Nevertheless, the French West-India histories say, ' Our Flibustiers (*nos Flibustiers*), in 1688, surprised the ' Danish Factory at *St. Thomas*. The pillage was considerable, ' and would have been more if they had known that the chief ' part of the cash was kept in a vault under the hall, which was ' known to very few of the house. They forgot on this occa- ' sion their ordinary practice, which is to put their prisoners to ' the torture to make them declare where the money is. It is ' certain that if they had so done, the hiding-place would have ' been revealed to them, in which it was believed there was ' more than 500,000 livres.' Such remarks shew the strong prepossession which existed in favour of the Buccaneers, and an eagerness undistinguishing and determined after the extraordinary. Qualities the most common to the whole of mankind were received as wonderful when related of the Buccaneers. One of our Encyclopedias, under the article Buccaneer, says, ' they were transported with an astonishing degree of enthu- ' siasm whenever they saw a sail.'

In this same year, 1688, war broke out in Europe between the

the French and Spaniards, and in a short time the English joined against the French. CHAP. 25.

1689.

July.

The English  
driven from  
St. Chris-  
topher.

*England* and *France* had at no period since the Norman conquest been longer without serious quarrel. On the accession of William the III<sup>d</sup>. to the crowns of *Great Britain*, it was generally believed that a war with *France* would ensue. The French in the *West Indies* did not wait for its being declared, but attacked the English part of *St. Christopher*, the Island on which by joint agreement had been made the original and confederated first settlements of the two Nations in the *West Indies*. See p. 38. The English inhabitants were driven from their possessions and obliged to retire to the Island *Nevis*, which terminated the longest preserved union which history can shew between the English and French as subjects of different nations. In the commencement it was strongly cemented by the mutual want of support against a powerful enemy; that motive for their adherence to each other had ceased to exist: yet in the reigns of Charles the II<sup>d</sup>. and James the II<sup>d</sup>. of *England*, an agreement had been made between *England* and *France*, that if war should at any time break out between them, a neutrality should be observed by their subjects in the *West Indies*.

This war continued nearly to the end of King William's reign, and during that time the English and French Buccaneers were engaged on opposite sides, as auxiliaries to the regular forces of their respective nations, which completely separated them; and it never afterwards happened that they again confederated in any buccaneer cause. They became more generally distinguished by different appellations, not consonant to their present situations and habits; for the French adventurers, who were frequently occupied in hunting and at the *boucan*, were called the Flibustiers of *St. Domingo*, and the English adventurers, who

**CHAP. 25.** who had nothing to do with the *boucan*, were called the *Buccaneers of Jamaica*.

1690.

July.

The English  
retake  
St. Chris-  
topher.

The French had not kept possession of *St. Christopher* quite a year, when it was taken from them by the English. This was an unfortunate year for the French, who in it suffered a great defeat from the Spaniards in *Hispaniola*. Their Governor De Cussy, and 500 Frenchmen, fell in battle, and the Town of *Cape François* was demolished.

The French Flibustiers at this time greatly annoyed *Jamaica*, making descents, in which they carried off such a number of negroes, that in derision they nicknamed *Jamaica* 'Little Guinea.' The principal transactions in the *West Indies*, were, the attempts made by each party on the possessions of the other. In the course of these services, De Graaf was accused of misconduct, tried, and deprived of his commission in the army; but though judged unfit for command in land service, out of respect to his maritime experience he was appointed Captain of a Frigate.

No one among the Flibustiers was more distinguished for courage and enterprise in this war than Jean Montauban, who commanded a ship of between 30 and 40 guns. He sailed from the *West Indies* to *Bordeaux* in 1694. In February of the year following, he departed from *Bordeaux* for the coast of *Guinea*, where in battle with an English ship of force, both the ships were blown up. Montauban and a few others escaped with their lives. This affair is not to be ranked among buccaneer exploits, *Great Britain* and *France* being at open War, and Montauban having a regular commission.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*Seige and Plunder of the City of Carthagenæ on the Terra Firma, by an Armament from France in conjunction with the Flibustiers of Saint Domingo.*

I N 1697, at the suggestion of M. le Baron de Pointis, an officer of high rank in the French Marine, a large armament was fitted out in *France*, jointly at the expence of the Crown, and of private contributors, for an expedition against the Spaniards in the *West Indies*. The chief command was given to M. de Pointis, and orders were sent out to the Governor of the French Settlements in *Hispaniola* (M. du Casse) to raise 1200 men in *Tortuga* and *Hispaniola* to assist in the expedition. The king's regular force in M. du Casse's government was small, and the men demanded were to be supplied principally from the Flibustiers. The dispatches containing the above orders arrived in January. It was thought necessary to specify to the Flibustiers a limitation of time; and they were desired to keep from dispersing till the 15th of February, it being calculated that M. de Pointis would then, or before, certainly be at *Hispaniola*. De Pointis, however, did not arrive till the beginning of March, when he made *Cape François*, but did not anchor there; preferring the Western part of *Hispaniola*, 'fresh water being better and more easy to be got at *Cape Tiburon* than at any other part.' M. du Casse had, with some difficulty, kept the Flibustiers together beyond the time specified, and they were soon dissatisfied with the deportment of the Baron de Pointis, which was more imperious than they had been accustomed to from any Commander.

CHAP. 26.  
1697.

March.

M. de

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1697.  
Character  
of the  
Buccaneers  
by M. de  
Pointis.

M. de Pointis published a history of his expedition, in which he relates that at the first meeting between him and M. du Casse, he expressed himself dissatisfied at the small number of men provided; 'but,' says he, 'M. du Casse assured me that the Buccaneers were at this time collected, and would every man of them perform wonders. It is the good fortune of all the pirates in these parts to be called Buccaneers. These freebooters are, for the most part, composed of those that desert from ships that come upon the coast: the advantage they bring to the Governors, protects them against the prosecution of the law. All who are apprehended as vagabonds in France, and can give no account of themselves, are sent to these Islands, where they are obliged to serve for three years. The first that gets them, obliges them to work in the plantations; at the end of the term of servitude, somebody lends them a gun, and to sea they go a buccaneering.' It is proper to hint here, that when M. de Pointis published his Narrative, he was at enmity with the Buccaneers, and had a personal interest in bringing the buccaneer character into disrepute. Many of his remarks upon them, nevertheless, are not less just than characteristic. He continues his description; 'They were formerly altogether independent. Of late years they have been reduced under the government of the coast of *St. Domingo*: they have commissions given them, for which they pay the tenth of all prizes, and are now called the King's subjects. The Governors of our settlements in *Saint Domingo* being enriched by them, do mightily extol them for the damages they do to the Spaniards. This infamous profession which an impunity for all sorts of crimes renders so much beloved, has within a few years lost us above six thousand men, who might have improved and peopled the colony. At present they are pleased to be called the King's subjects; yet it is with so much

‘ much arrogance, as obliges all who are desirous to make use  
 ‘ of them, to court them in the most flattering terms. This  
 ‘ was not agreeable to my disposition, and considering them as  
 ‘ his Majesty’s subjects which the Governor was ordered to  
 ‘ deliver to me, I plainly told them that they should find  
 ‘ me a Commander to lead them on, but not as a companion  
 ‘ to them.’

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 1697.

The expedition, though it was not yet made known, or even yet pretended to be determined, against what place it should be directed, was expected to yield both honour and profit. The Buccaneers would not quarrel with a promising enterprise under a spirited and experienced commander, for a little haughtiness in his demeanour towards them; but they demanded to have clearly specified the share of the prize money and plunder to which they should be entitled, and it was stipulated by mutual agreement ‘ that the Flibustiers and Colonists should, man for  
 ‘ man, have the same shares of booty that were allowed to the  
 ‘ men on board the King’s ships.’ As so many men were to embark from M. du Casse’s government, he proposed to go at their head, and desired to know of M. de Pointis what rank would be allowed him. M. du Casse was a mariner by profession, and had the rank of Captain in the French Navy. De Pointis told him that the highest character he knew him in, was that which he derived from his commission as *Capitaine de Vaisseau*, and that if he embarked in the expedition, he must be content to serve in that quality according to his seniority.

M. du Casse nevertheless chose to go, though it was generally thought he was not allowed the honours and consideration which were his due as Governor of the French Colonies at *St. Domingo*, and Commander of so large a portion of the men engaged in the expedition. It was settled, that the Flibustiers should embark partly in their own cruising vessels, and partly on board the

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ships

CHAP. 26. ships of M. de Pointis' squadron, and should be furnished  
1697. with six weeks provisions. A review was made, to prevent any but able men of the Colony being taken; negroes who served, if free, were to be allowed shares like other men; if slaves and they were killed, their masters were to be paid for them.

Two copies of the agreement respecting the sharing of booty were posted up in public places at *Petit Goave*, and a copy was delivered to M. du Casse, the Governor. M. de Pointis consulted with M. du Casse what enterprise they should undertake, but the determination wholly rested with M. de Pointis. 'There was added,' M. de Pointis says, 'without my knowledge, to the directions sent to Governor du Casse, that he was to give assistance to our undertaking, without damage to, or endangering, his Colony. This restriction did in some measure deprive me of the power of commanding his forces, seeing he had an opportunity of pretending to keep them for the preservation of the Colony.' M. du Casse made no pretences to withhold, but gave all the assistance in his power. He was an advocate for attacking the City of *San Domingo*. This was the wish of most of the colonists, and perhaps was what would have been of more advantage to *France* than any other expedition they could have undertaken. But the armament having been prepared principally at private expence, it was reasonable for the contributors to look to their own reimbursement. To attack the City of *San Domingo* was not approved; other plans were proposed, but *Carthagena* seems to have been the original object of the projectors of the expedition, and the attack of that city was determined upon. Before the Flibustiers and other colonists embarked, a disagreement happened which had nearly made them refuse altogether to join in the expedition. The officers of De Pointis' fleet had imbibed the

the sentiments of their Commander respecting the Flibustiers or Buccaneers, and followed the example of his manners towards them. The fleet was lying at *Petit Goave*, and M. de Pointis, giving to himself the title of General of the Armies of *France* by Sea and by Land in *America*, had placed a guard in a Fort there. M. du Casse, as he had received no orders from *Europe* to acknowledge any superior within his government, might have considered such an exercise of power to be an encroachment on his authority which it became him to resist; but he acted in this, and in other instances, like a man overawed. The officer of M. de Pointis who commanded the guard on shore, arrested a Flibustier for disorderly behaviour, and held him prisoner in the fort. The Flibustiers surrounded the fort in a tumultuous manner to demand his release, and the officer commanded his men to fire upon them, by which three of the Flibustiers were killed. It required some address and civility on the part of M. de Pointis himself, as well as the assistance of M. du Casse, to appease the Flibustiers; and the officer who had committed the offence was sent on board under arrest.

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The force furnished from M. du Casse's government, consisted of nearly 700 Flibustiers, 170 soldiers from the garrisons, and as many volunteer inhabitants and negroes as made up about 1200 men. The whole armament consisted of seven large ships, and eleven frigates, besides store ships and smaller vessels; and, reckoning persons of all classes, 6000 men.

The Fleet arrived off *Carthagera* on April the 13th, and the landing was effected on the 15th. It is not necessary to relate all the particulars of this siege, in which the Buccaneers bore only a part. That part however was of essential importance.

April.  
Siege of  
*Carthagera*  
by the  
French.

M. de Pointis, in the commencement, appointed the whole of the Flibustiers, without any mixture of the King's troops, to a service of great danger, which raised a suspicion of partiality



CHAP. 26. tiality and of an intention to save the men he brought with  
 1697. him from *Europe*, as regarding them to be more peculiarly his own men. An eminence about a mile to the Eastward of the City of *Carthagera*, on which was a church named *Nuestra Senora de la Poupa*, commands all the avenues and approaches on the land side to the city. 'I had been assured,' says M. de Pointis, 'that if we did not seize the hill *de la Poupa* immediately on our arrival, all the treasure would be carried off. 'To get possession of this post, I resolved to land the Buccaneers in the night of the same day on which we came to anchor, they being proper for such an attempt, as being accustomed to marching and subsisting in the woods.' M. de Pointis takes this occasion to accuse the Buccaneers of behaving less heroically than M. du Casse had boasted they would, and that it was not without murmuring that they embarked in the boats in order to their landing. It is however due to them on the score of courage and exertion, to remark, though in some degree it is anticipation, that no part of the force under M. de Pointis shewed more readiness or performed better service in the siege than the Buccaneers.

There was uncertainty about the most proper place for landing, and M. de Pointis went himself in a boat to examine near the shore to the North of the city. The surf rolled in heavy, by which his boat was filled, and was with difficulty saved from being stranded on a rock. The proposed landing was given up as impracticable, and M. de Pointis became of opinion that *Carthagera* was approachable only by the lake which makes the harbour, the entrance to which, on account of its narrowness, was called the *Bocca-chica*, and was defended by a strong fort.

The Fleet sailed for the *Bocca-chica*, and on the 15th some of the ships began to cannonade the Fort. The first landing was effected at the same time by a corps of eighty negroes, without  
 any

any mixture of the King's troops. This was a second marked instance of the Commander's partial attention to the preservation of the men he brought from *France*. M. de Pointis despised the Flibustiers, and probably regarded negroes as next to nothing. He was glad however to receive them as his companions in arms, and it was in honour due from him to all under his command, as far as circumstances would admit without injury to service, to share the dangers equally, or at least without partiality.

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1697.

April.  
Siege of  
Carthagena.

The 16th, which was the day next after the landing, the Castle of *Bocca-chica* surrendered. This was a piece of good fortune much beyond expectation, and was obtained principally by the dexterous management of a small party of the Buccaneers; which drew commendation even from M. de Pointis. 'Among the chiefs of these Buccaneers,' he says, 'there may be about twenty men who deserve to be distinguished for their courage; it not being my intention to comprehend them in the descriptions which I make of the others.'

De Pointis conducted the siege with diligence and spirit. The *Nuestra Senora de la Poupa* was taken possession of on the 17th; and on the 3d of May, the City capitulated. The terms of the Capitulation were,

May.  
The City  
capitulates.

That all public effects and office accounts should be delivered to the captors.

That merchants should produce their books of accounts, and deliver up all money and effects held by them for their correspondents.

That every inhabitant should be free to leave the city, or to remain in his dwelling. That those who retired from the city should first deliver up all their property there to the captors. That those who chose to remain, should declare faithfully, under penalty of entire confiscation, the gold, silver, and  
jewels,

CHAP. 26. jewels, in their possession; on which condition, and delivering  
 1697. up one half, they should be permitted to retain the other half,  
 May. and afterwards be regarded as subjects of *France*.

At Carthagera. That the churches and religious houses should be spared  
 and protected.

The French General on entering the Town with his troops, went first to the cathedral to attend the *Te Deum*. He next sent for the Superiors of the convents and religious houses, to whom he explained the meaning of the article of the capitulation promising them protection, which was, that their houses should not be destroyed; but that it had no relation to money in their possession, which they were required to deliver up. Otherwise, he observed, it would be in their power to collect in their houses all the riches of the city. He caused it to be publicly rumoured that he was directed by the Court to keep possession of *Carthagera*, and that it would be made a French Colony. To give colour to this report, he appointed M. du Casse to be Governor of the City. He strictly prohibited the troops from entering any house until it had undergone the visitation of officers appointed by himself, some of which officers it was supposed, embezzled not less than 100,000 crowns each. A reward was proclaimed for informers of concealed treasure, of one-tenth of all treasure discovered by them. ‘The hope of  
 ‘securing a part, with the fear of bad neighbours and false  
 ‘friends, induced the inhabitants to be forward in disclosing  
 ‘their riches, and Tilleul who was charged with receiving the  
 ‘treasure, was not able to weigh the specie fast enough.’

M. du Casse, in the exercise of what he conceived to be the duties of his new office of Governor of *Carthagera*, had begun to take cognizance of the money which the inhabitants brought in according to the capitulation; but M. de Pointis was desirous that he should not be at any trouble on that head.

High

High words passed between them, in consequence of which, Du Casse declined further interference in what was transacting, and retired to a house in the suburbs. This was quitting the field to an antagonist who would not fail to make his advantage of it; whose refusal to admit other witnesses to the receipt of money than those of his own appointment, was a strong indication, whatever contempt he might profess or really feel for the Flibustiers, that he was himself of as stanch Flibustier principles as any one of the gentry of the coast. Some time afterwards, however, M. du Casse thought proper to send a formal representation to the General, that it was nothing more than just that some person of the colony should be present at the receipt of the money. The General returned answer, that what M. du Casse proposed, was in itself a matter perfectly indifferent; but that it would be an insult to his own dignity, and therefore he could not permit it.

CHAP. 26  
1697.  
May.  
At  
Carthagena.

The public collection of plunder by authority did not save the city from private pillage. In a short time all the plate disappeared from the churches. Houses were forcibly entered by the troops, and as much violence committed as if no capitulation had been granted. M. de Pointis, when complained to by the aggrieved inhabitants, gave orders for the prevention of outrage, but was at no pains to make them observed. It appears that the Flibustiers were most implicated in these disorders. Many of the inhabitants who had complied with the terms of the capitulation, seeing the violences every where committed, hired Flibustiers to be guards in their houses, hoping that by being well paid they would be satisfied and protect them against others. Some observed this compact and were faithful guardians; but the greater number robbed those they undertook to defend. For this among other reasons, De Pointis resolved to rid the city of them. On a report, which

CHAP. 26. which it is said himself caused to be spread, that an army  
 1697. of 10,000 Indians were approaching *Carthagena*, he ordered  
 May. the Flibustiers out to meet them. Without suspecting any  
 At deception, they went forth, and were some days absent seeking  
 Carthagena. the reported enemy. As they were on the return, a message  
 met them from the General, purporting, that he apprehended  
 their presence in the city would occasion some disturbance, and  
 he therefore desired them to stop without the gates. On receiving  
 this message, they broke out into imprecations, and resolved  
 not to delay their return to the city, nor to be kept longer in  
 ignorance of what was passing there. When they arrived at the  
 gates they found them shut and guarded by the King's troops.  
 Whilst they deliberated on what they should next do, another  
 message, more conciliating in language than the former, came  
 to them from M. de Pointis, in which he said that it was by no  
 means his intention to interdict them from entering *Carthagena* ;  
 that he only wished they would not enter so soon, nor all at  
 one time, for fear of frightening the inhabitants, who greatly  
 dreaded their presence. The Flibustiers knew not how to help  
 themselves, and were necessitated to take up their quarters  
 without the city walls, where they were kept fifteen days, by  
 which time the collection of treasure from the inhabitants was  
 completed, the money weighed, secured in chests, and great  
 part embarked. De Pointis says, ' as fast as the money was  
 brought in, it was immediately carried on board the King's  
 ships.' The uneasiness and impatience of the Flibustiers for  
 distribution of the booty may easily be imagined. On their  
 re-admission to the city, the merchandise was put up to sale  
 by auction, and the produce joined to the former collection ;  
 but no distribution took place, and the Flibustiers were loud in  
 their importunities. M. de Pointis assigned as a reason for the  
 delay, that the clerks employed in the business had not made

up

up the accounts. He says in his Narrative, ‘ I was not so ill  
 ‘ served by my spies as not to be informed of the seditious  
 ‘ discourses held by some wholly abandoned to their own  
 ‘ interest, upon the money being carried on board the King’s  
 ‘ ships.’ To allay the ferment, he ordered considerable gratifi-  
 cations to be paid to the Buccaneer captains, also compensa-  
 tions to the Buccaneers who had been maimed or wounded,  
 and rewards to be given to some who had most distinguished  
 themselves during the siege;—and he spoke with so much  
 appearance of frankness of his intention, as soon as ever he  
 should receive the account of the whole, to make a division  
 which should be satisfactory to all parties, that the Buccaneers  
 were persuaded to remain quiet.

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1697.

May.

At  
Carthagens.

The value of the plunder is variously reported. Much of  
 the riches of the city had been carried away on the first alarm  
 of the approach of an enemy. De Pointis says 110 mules laden  
 with gold went out in the course of four days. ‘ Nevertheless,  
 ‘ the honour acquired to his Majesty’s arms, besides near eight  
 ‘ or nine millions that could not escape us, consoled us for the  
 ‘ rest.’ Whether these eight or nine millions were crowns or  
 livres M. de Pointis’ account does not specify. It is not im-  
 probable he meant it should be understood as livres. Many  
 were of opinion that the value of the booty was not less than  
 forty millions of livres; M. du Casse estimated it at above  
 twenty millions, besides merchandise.

Value of  
the Plunder.

M. de Pointis now made known that on account of the  
 unhealthiness of the situation, he had changed his intention  
 of leaving a garrison and keeping *Carthagens*, for that already  
 more Frenchmen had died there by sickness than he had  
 lost in the siege. He ordered the cannon of the *Bocca-chica*  
*Castle* to be taken on board the ships, and the Castle to be  
 demolished. On the 25th of May, orders were issued for the

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troops

CHAP. 26. troops to embark; and at the same time he embarked himself  
 1697. without having given any previous notice of his intention so  
 May. to do to M. du Casse, from whom he had parted but a few  
 At minutes before. The ships of the King's fleet began to take up  
 Carthagea. their anchors to move towards the entrance of the harbour, and  
 M. de Pointis sent an order to M. du Casse for the Buccaneers  
 and the people of the Colony to embark on board their own  
 vessels.

M. du Casse sent two of his principal officers to the General to demand that justice should be done to the Colonists. Still the accounts were said not to be ready; but on the 29th, the King's fleet being ready for sea, M. du Pointis sent to M. du Casse the Commissary's account, which stated the share of the booty due to the Colonists, including the Governor and the Buccaneers, to be 40,000 crowns.

What the customary manner of dividing prize money in the French navy was at that time, is not to be understood from the statement given by De Pointis, which says, 'that the King had been pleased to allow to the several ships companies, a tenth of the first million, and a thirtieth part of all the rest.' Here it is not specified whether the million of which the ships companies were to be allowed one-tenth, is to be understood a million of *Louis*, a million crowns, or a million livres. The difference of construction in a large capture would be nearly as three to one. It requires explanation likewise what persons are meant to be included in the term 'ships companies.' Sometimes it is used to signify the common seamen, without including the officers; and for them, the one-tenth is certainly not too large a share. That in any military service, public or private, one-tenth of captures or of plunder should be deemed adequate gratification for the services of all the captors, officers included, seems scarcely credible. In the *Carthagea* expedition it is  
 also

also to be observed, that the dues of the crown were in some measure compromised by the admission of private contributions towards defraying the expence. The Flibustiers had contributed by furnishing their own vessels to the service.

Du Casse when he saw the account, did not immediately communicate it to his Colonists, deterred at first probably by something like shame, and an apprehension that they would reproach him with weakness for having yielded so much as he had all along done to the insulting and imperious pretensions of De Pointis. Afterwards through discretion he delayed making the matter public until the Colonists had all embarked and their vessels had sailed from the city. He then sent for the Captains, and acquainted them with the distribution intended by M. de Pointis, and they informed their crews.

CHAP. 26.

1697.

May.

At  
Carthage.



## C H A P. XXVII.

*Second Plunder of Carthagenæ. Peace of Ryswick, in 1697.  
Entire Suppression of the Buccaneers and Flibustiers.*

CHAP. 27.

1697.

May.

THE share which M. de Pointis had allotted of the plunder of *Carthagenæ* to the Buccaneers, fell so short of their calculations, and was felt as so great an aggravation of the contemptuous treatment they had before received, that their rage was excessive, and in their first transports they proposed to board the *Sceptre*, a ship of 84 guns, on board which M. de Pointis carried his flag. This was too desperate a scheme to be persevered in. After much deliberation, one among them exclaimed, ‘ It is useless to trouble ourselves any farther about such a villain as De Pointis ; let him go with what he has got ; he has left us our share at *Carthagenæ*, and thither we must return to seek it.’ The proposition was received with general applause by these remorseless robbers, whose desire for vengeance on De Pointis was all at once obliterated by the mention of an object that awakened their greediness for plunder. They got their vessels under sail, and stood back to the devoted city, doomed by them to pay the forfeit for the dishonesty of their countryman.

The matter was consulted and determined upon without M. du Casse being present, and the ship in which he had embarked was left by the rest without company. When he perceived what they were bent upon, he sent orders to them to desist, which he accompanied with a promise to demand redress for them in *France* ; but neither the doubtful prospect of distant redress held out, nor respect for his orders, had

had any effect in restraining them. M. du Casse sent an officer to M. de Pointis, who had not yet sailed from the entrance of *Carthagera Harbour*, to inform him that the Buccaneers, in defiance of all order and in breach of the capitulation which had been granted to the city, were returning thither to plunder it again ; but M. de Pointis in sending the Commissary's account had closed his intercourse with the Buccaneers and with the Colonists, at least for the remainder of his expedition. M. du Casse's officer was told that the General was so ill that he could not be spoken with. The Officer went to the next senior Captain in command of the fleet, who, on being informed of the matter, said, ' the Buccaneers were great rogues, and ought to be hanged ; ' but as no step could be taken to prevent the mischief, without delaying the sailing of the fleet, the chief commanders of which were impatient to see their booty in a place of greater security, none was taken, and on the 1st of June the King's fleet sailed for *France*, leaving *Carthagera* to the discretion of the Buccaneers. M. de Pointis claims being ignorant of what was transacting. ' On the 30th of May,' he says, ' I was taken so ill, that all I could do, before I fell into a condition that deprived me of my intellect, was to acquaint Captain Levi that I committed the care of the squadron to him.' CHAP. 27.  
1697.

June.

If M. de Pointis acted fairly by the people who came from *France* and returned with him, it must be supposed that in his sense of right and wrong he held the belief, that ' to rob a rogue is no breach of honesty.' But it was said of him, '*Il étoit capable de former un grand dessein, et de rien épargner pour le faire réussir ;*' the English phrase for which is, ' he would stick at nothing.'

On the 1st of June, M. du Casse also sailed from *Carthagera* to return to *St. Domingo*. Thus were the Flibustiers abandoned to

CHAP. 27. to their own will by all the authorities whose duty it was to have restrained them.

1697.

June.

At  
Carthageria.

The inhabitants of *Carthageria* seeing the buccaneer ships returning to the city, waited in the most anxious suspense to learn the cause. The Flibustiers on landing, seized on all the male inhabitants they could lay hold of, and shut them up in the great church. They posted up a kind of manifesto in different parts of the city, setting forth the justice of their second invasion of *Carthageria*, which they grounded on the perfidy of the French General De Pointis (*'que nous vous permettons de charger de toutes les maledictions imaginables,'*) and on their own necessities. Finally, they demanded five millions of livres as the price of their departing again without committing disorder. It seems strange that the Buccaneers could expect to raise so much money in a place so recently plundered. Nevertheless, by terrifying their prisoners, putting some to the torture, ransacking the tombs, and other means equally abhorrent, in four days time they had nearly made up the proposed sum. It happened that two Flibustiers killed two women of *Carthageria* in some manner, or under some circumstances, that gave general offence, and raised indignation in the rest of the Flibustiers, who held a kind of trial and condemned them to be shot, which was done in presence of many of the inhabitants. The Buccaneer histories praise this as an act of extraordinary justice, and a set-off against their cruelties and robberies, such as gained them the esteem even of the Spaniards. The punishment, however merited, was a matter of caprice. It is no where pretended that they ever made a law to themselves to forbid their murdering their prisoners; in very many instances they had not refrained, and in no former instance had it been attended with punishment. The putting these two murderers to death therefore, as it related to themselves,

selves, was an arbitrary and lawless act. If the women had been murdered for the purpose of coming at their money, it could not have incurred blame from the rest. These remarks are not intended in disapprobation of the act, which was very well; but too highly extolled.

CHAP. 27.

1697.

June.

At  
Carthageua.

Having almost completed their collection, they began to dispute about the division, the Flibustiers pretending that the more regular settlers of the colony (being but landsmen) were not entitled to an equal share with themselves, when a bark arrived from *Martinico* which was sent expressly to give them notice that a fleet of English and Dutch ships of war had just arrived in the *West Indies*. This news made them hasten their departure, and shortened or put an end to their disputes; for previous to sailing, they made a division of the gold and silver, in which each man shared nearly a thousand crowns; the merchandise and negroes being reserved for future division, and which it was expected would produce much more.

The Commanders of the English and Dutch squadrons, on arriving at *Barbadoes*, learnt that the French had taken *Carthageua*. They sailed on for that place, and had almost reached it, when they got sight of De Pointis' squadron, to which they gave chase, but which escaped from them by superior sailing.

On the 3d or 4th of June, the Flibustiers sailed from *Carthageua* in nine vessels, and had proceeded thirty leagues of their route towards *Hispaniola*, when they came in sight of the English and Dutch fleet. They dispersed, every one using his best endeavours to save himself by flight. The two richest ships were taken; two were driven on shore and wrecked, one of them near *Carthageua*, and her crew fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who would have been justified in treating them as pirates; but they were only made to work on the fortifications. The five others had the good fortune to reach *Isle Arache*.

An English  
and Dutch  
Squadron  
fall in  
with the  
Buccaneers.

**CHAP. 27.** *Avache.* To conclude the history of the Carthagena expedition, a suit was instituted in *France* against M. de Pointis and the *armateurs*, in behalf of the Colonists and Flibustiers, and a decree was obtained in their favour for 1,400,000 livres; but the greater part of the sum was swallowed up by the expenses of the suit, and the embezzlements of agents.

September.  
Peace of  
Ryswick.

The Carthagena expedition was the last transaction in which the Flibustiers or Buccaneers made a conspicuous figure. It turned out to their disadvantage in many respects; but chiefly in stripping them of public favour. In September 1697, an end was put to the war, by a Treaty signed at *Ryswick*. By this treaty, the part of the Island *St. Christopher* which had belonged to the French was restored to them.

Causes  
which led  
to the  
suppression  
of the  
Buccaneers.

In earlier times, peace, by releasing the Buccaneers from public demands on their services, left them free to pursue their own projects, with an understood license or privilege to cruise or form any other enterprise against the Spaniards, without danger of being subjected to enquiry; but the aspect of affairs in this respect was now greatly altered. The Treaty of 1670 between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, with the late alliance of those powers against *France*, had put an end to buccaneering in *Jamaica*; the scandal of the second plunder of *Carthagena* lay heavy on the Flibustiers of *St. Domingo*; and a circumstance in which both *Great Britain* and *France* were deeply interested, went yet more strongly to the entire suppression of the cruising of the Buccaneers, and to the dissolution of their piratical union; which was, the King of *Spain*, Charles the II<sup>d</sup>. being in a weak state of health, without issue, and the succession to the crown of *Spain* believed to depend upon his will. On this last account, the kings of *Great Britain* and *France* were earnest in their endeavours to give satisfaction to *Spain*. Louis XIV. sent back from *France* to *Carthagena* the silver ornaments

ornaments of which the churches there had been stripped ; and distinction was no longer admitted in the French Settlements between Flibustier and Pirate. The Flibustiers themselves had grown tired of preserving the distinction ; for after the Peace of *Ryswick* had been fully notified in the *West Indies*, they continued to seize and plunder the ships of the English and Dutch, till complaint was made to the French Governor of *Saint Domingo*, M. du Casse, who thought proper to make indemnification to the sufferers. Fresh prohibitions and proclamations were issued, and *encouragement* was given to the adventurers to become planters. The French were desirous to obtain permission to trade in the Spanish ports of the *Terra Firma*. Charlevoix says, ‘ the Spaniards were charmed by the sending  
‘ back the ornaments taken from the churches at *Carthagena*,  
‘ and it was hoped to gain them entirely by putting a stop to  
‘ the cruising of the Flibustiers. The commands of the King  
‘ were strict and precise on this head ; that the Governor should  
‘ persuade the Flibustiers to make themselves inhabitants, and  
‘ in default of prevailing by persuasion, to use force.’

Many Flibustiers and Buccaneers did turn planters, or followed their profession of mariner in the ships of merchants. Attachment to old habits, difficulties in finding employment, and being provided with vessels fit for cruising, made many persist in their former courses. The evil most grievously felt by them was their proscribed state, which left them no place in the *West Indies* where they might riot with safety and to their liking, in the expenditure of their booty. Not having the same inducement as formerly to limit themselves to the plundering one people, they extended their scope of action, and robbed vessels of all nations. Most of those who were in good vessels, quitted the West Indian Seas, and went roving to different parts of the world. Mention is made of pirates or buccaneers being in the *South Sea* in the year 1697, but their particular deeds

CHAP. 27. are not related; and Robert Drury, who was shipwrecked  
1697. at *Madagascar* in the year 1702, relates, 'King Samuel's messenger then desired to know what they demanded for me? To which, Deaan Crindo sent word that they required two *buccaneer* guns.'

At the time of the Peace of *Ryswick*, the Darien Indians, having quarrelled with the Spaniards, had become reconciled to the Flibustiers, and several of the old Flibustiers afterwards settled on the *Isthmus* and married Darien women.

Providence  
Island.

One of the *Lucayas*, or *Bahama Islands*, had been settled by the English, under the name of *Providence Island*. It afforded good anchorage, and the strength of the settlement was small, which were conveniencies to pirates that induced them to frequent it; and, according to the proverbial effect of evil communication, the inhabitants were tempted to partake of their plunder, and assist in their robberies, by purchasing their prize goods, and supplying them with all kinds of stores and necessaries. This was for several years so gainful a business to the Settlement, as to cause it to be proverbial in the *West Indies*, that 'Shipwrecks and Pirates were the only hopes of the *Island Providence*.'

1700-1.  
Accession  
of  
Philip Vth.  
to the  
Throne of  
Spain.

In three years after the Peace of *Ryswick*, Charles the II<sup>d</sup> of Spain died, and a Prince of the House of Bourbon mounted the Spanish Throne, which produced a close union of interests between *France* and *Spain*. The ports of Spanish America, both in the *West Indies* and in the *South Sea*, were laid open to the merchants of *France*. The *Noticia de las Expediciones al Magallanes* notices the great resort of the French to the *Pacific Ocean*, 'who in an extraordinary manner enriched themselves during the war of the Spanish succession.' In the French Settlements in the *West Indies* the name of Flibustier, because it implied enmity to the Spaniards, was no longer tolerated.

On the breaking out of the war between *Great Britain* and  
*France*

*France* which followed the Spanish succession, the English drove the French out of *St. Christopher*, and it has since remained wholly to *Great Britain*. M. le Comte de Gennes, a Commander in the French Navy, who a few years before had made an unsuccessful voyage to the *Strait of Magalhanes*, was the Governor of the French part of the Island at the time of the surrender\*.

CHAP. 27.

During this war, the Governors of *Providence* exercised their authority in granting commissions, or *letters of reprisal*; and created Admiralty Courts, for the *condemnation* of captured vessels: for under some of the Governors no vessels brought to the adjudication of the Court escaped that sentence. These were indirect acts of piracy.

The last achievement related of the Flibustiers, happened in 1702, when a party of Englishmen, having commission from the Governor of *Jamaica*, landed on the *Isthmus* near the *Samballas Isles*, where they were joined by some of the old Flibustiers who lived among the Darien Indians, and also by 300 of the Indians. They marched to some mines from which they drove the Spaniards, and took 70 negroes. They kept the negroes at work in the mines twenty-one days; but in all this exploit they obtained no more than about eighty pounds weight of gold.

Here then terminates the History of the Buccaneers of *America*. Their distinctive mark, which they undeviatingly preserved

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\* Père Labat relates a story of a ridiculous effort in mechanical ingenuity, in which M. de Gennes succeeded whilst he was Governor at *Saint Christopher*. He made an Automaton in the likeness of a soldier, which marched and performed sundry actions. It was jocosely said that M. de Gennes might have defended his government with troops of his own making. His automaton soldier eat victuals placed before it, which he digested, by means of a dissolvent,—*P. Labat*, Vol. V. p. 349.



**CHAP. 27.** preserved nearly two centuries, was, their waging constant war against the Spaniards, and against them only. Many peculiarities have been attributed to the Buccaneers in other respects, some of which can apply only to their situation as hunters of cattle, and some existed rather in the writer's fancy than in reality. Mariners are generally credited for being more eccentric in their caprices than other men; which, if true, is to be accounted for by the circumstances of their profession; and it happens that they are most subjected to observation at the times when they are fresh in the possession of liberty and money, earned by long confinement and labour.

It may be said of the Buccaneers that they were, in general, courageous according to the character of their leader; often rash, alternately negligent and vigilant, and always addicted to pleasure and idleness. It will help to illustrate the manners and qualifications of the Buccaneers in the *South Sea*, to give an extract from the concluding part of Dampier's manuscript journal of his Voyage round the World with the Buccaneers, and will also establish a fact which has been mentioned before only as a matter surmised\*. Dampier says,

Extract  
from  
Dampier.

‘ September the 20th, 1691, arrived in the *Downs* to my  
‘ great joy and satisfaction, having in my voyage ran clear  
‘ round the Globe.—I might have been master of the ship we  
‘ first sailed in if I would have accepted it, for it was known  
‘ to most men on board that I kept a Journal, and all that  
‘ knew me did ever judge my accounts were kept as correct  
‘ as any man's. Besides, that most, if not all others who kept  
‘ journals in the voyage, lost them before they got to *Europe*,  
‘ whereas I preserved my writing. Yet I see that some men  
‘ are not so well pleased with my account as if it came from  
‘ any of the Commanders that were in the *South Sea*, though  
‘ most

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\* See p. 207, near the bottom.

‘ most of them, I think all but Captain Swan, were incapable CHAP. 27.  
‘ of keeping a sea journal, and took no account of any action,  
‘ neither did they make any observations. But I am only to  
‘ answer for myself, and if I have not given satisfaction to my  
‘ friends in what I have written, the fault is in the meanness of  
‘ my information, and not in me who have been faithful as to  
‘ what came to my knowledge.’

Countenanced as the Buccaneers were, it is not in the least surprising that they became so numerous. With the same degree of encouragement at the present time, the Seas would be filled with such adventurers. It was fortunate for the Spaniards, and perhaps for the other maritime Nations of *Europe*, that the Buccaneers did not make conquest and settlement so much their object as they did plunder; and that they took no step towards making themselves independent, whilst it was in their power. Among their Chiefs were some of good capacity; but only two of them, Mansvelt and Morgan, appear to have contemplated any scheme of regular settlement independent of the European Governments, and the time was then gone by. Before *Tortuga* was taken possession of for the Crown of *France*, such a project might have been undertaken with great advantage. The English and French Buccaneers were then united; *England* was deeply engaged and fully occupied by a civil war; and the jealousy which the Spaniards entertained of the encroachments of the French in the *West Indies*, kept at a distance all probability of their coalescing to suppress the Buccaneers. If they had chosen at that time to have formed for themselves any regular mode of government, it appears not very improbable that they might have become a powerful independent State.

In the history of so much robbery and outrage, the rapacity shewn in some instances by the European Governments in their  
West-

CHAP. 27. West-India transactions, and by Governors of their appointment, appears in a worse light than that of the Buccaneers, from whom, they being professed ruffians, nothing better was expected. The superior attainments of Europeans, though they have done much towards their own civilization, chiefly in humanising their institutions, have, in their dealings with the inhabitants of the rest of the globe, with few exceptions, been made the instruments of usurpation and extortion.

After the suppression of the Buccaneers, and partly from their relicks, arose a race of pirates of a more desperate cast, so rendered by the increased danger of their occupation, who for a number of years preyed upon the commerce of all nations, till they were hunted down, and, it may be said, exterminated. Of one crew of pirates who were brought before a Court of Justice, fifty-two men were condemned and executed at one time, in the year 1722.

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PART II.

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VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES

IN THE

*SOUTH SEA,*

AFTER THE RETREAT OF THE BUCCANEERS.



VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES  
IN THE  
SOUTH SEA,  
AFTER THE RETREAT OF THE BUCCANEERS.  
PART II.

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CHAPTER I.

*Voyage of Captain John Strong to the Coast of Chili and Peru.*

IN the War between *Great Britain* and *France* which ensued CHAP. 1.  
on the accession of William the III<sup>d</sup> and Mary to the  
British Throne, *Spain* being at the same time at war with  
*France*, some merchants in *England* joined in the equipment of  
a ship for the purpose of trading with the Spanish Settlements  
in the *South Sea*. They obtained a commission from the  
Admiralty for their ship to cruise upon the French, which was  
granted with a proviso that the commander of the said ship  
should keep an exact journal of his proceedings, and transmit  
a copy thereof from time to time to the Commissioners for  
executing the office of Lord High Admiral of *England*. Another  
object proposed in this undertaking was to search after ‘a rich  
wreck or two, at or near the Point of *Santa Elena* not far  
from the *Bay of Puna*, and to endeavour to fish up some of  
the lost treasure.’

The ship fitted up for this voyage was London built, of  
270 tons burthen; was provided with cannon, and with a cargo  
of merchandise, consisting chiefly of cloths, arms, and iron-  
work; had a crew of ninety men, and was commanded by  
Mr. John Strong.

1689.  
Ship fitted  
out for the  
South Sea,  
commanded  
by Captain  
John Strong.

PART II.  
1689.

The most extravagant hopes were entertained of the success of this voyage. Some of the owners expected no less a return than 1600 per cent. The celebrated Dr. Radcliff had a large share, it is said one half, in both ship and cargo.

A Journal of the voyage of the *Welfare*, written by Captain Strong, is preserved in the *British Museum*; and likewise a narrative entitled *Observations made during a South Sea Voyage*, which was written by Richard Simson who sailed in the same ship.

October.  
From the  
Downs.

October the 12th, 1689, the *Welfare* sailed from the *Downs*, and on the 1st of November from *Plymouth*. December the 15th, she crossed the equinoctial line. Captain Strong intended to have put in at *Port Desire* on the coast of *Patagonia*, but near that Latitude they found the wind so constant from the Westward that they could not get in with the American coast.

1690.  
January.  
Arrive at  
John Davis's  
Southern  
Islands.

On January the 27th, 1690, they came in sight of John Davis's *Southern Islands*, concerning which, and the navigation of the *Welfare* among them, Captain Strong has given the following account.

' Monday the 27th, we saw the land. When within three or  
' four leagues we had 36 fathoms. It is a large land, and  
' lyeth East and West nearest. There are several keys [small  
' Islands] that lye along the shore. We sent our boat to one,  
' and she brought on board abundance of penguins and other  
' fowls, and seals. We steered along shore E b N, and at eight  
' at night we saw the land run Eastward as far as we could  
A Sound or  
Strait  
discovered.  
' discern. Latitude 51° 3' S. Tuesday the 28th. This morning  
' at four o'clock, we saw a rock that lyeth from the main Island  
' four or five leagues. It makes like a sail\*. At six we stood  
' into a *Sound* that lies about 20 leagues from the Westernmost  
' land we had seen. The *Sound* lyeth South and North nearest.  
' There

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\* In the English Chart of these Islands, this Rock is named the *Eddystone*, and is laid down within two leagues distance from the larger land. It was called *White Conduit* by Sir Richard Hawkins.

‘ There is 24 fathoms depth at the entrance, which is four leagues wide. We came to an anchor six or seven leagues within, in 14 fathoms water. Here are many good harbours. We found fresh water in plenty, and killed abundance of geese and ducks. As for wood, there is none.’

CHAP. I.

1690.

January.

At  
John Davis's  
Southern  
Islands.

They stopped in a harbour on the western side of the Sound till the 31st, when they sailed on Southward, and found a clear passage to the open sea in that direction. ‘ On the 31st,’ says Captain Strong, ‘ in the morning, we weighed from this harbour with the wind at WSW. We sent our long-boat ahead of the ship to sound before us. At eight o'clock in the evening we anchored in nine fathoms. The next morning, we weighed and sent our boat before us. At ten, we were clear out of the Sound. At twelve, we set the West Cape [of the Southern entrance] bearing NNE, which we named *Cape Farewell*. This Sound, *Falkland Sound* as I named it, is about 17 leagues long. The first entrance lies S b E, and afterwards S b W.’

February  
1st.The Sound,  
named  
Falkland  
Sound.

Here it appears that the name of *Falkland* was given by Captain Strong to the Sound or Passage through which he sailed (which was a discovery of his own), and that he did not intend to disturb any name before given to the lands, which he calls in his journal, *Hawkins' Land*. By some accident or misapprehension, however, the name *Falkland* has been adopted by the English for the general name of all these Islands.

Simson remarks that the Sound was in several places so full of weeds that the ship could hardly be forced on by the sails: ‘ it was rather as if we were sailing through a meadow than an arm of the sea.’ They saw foxes on this land, which, Simson says, ‘ were twice as big as those in England. Having brought greyhounds with us, we caught a young fox alive, which we kept on board some months: but on the first firing our great guns in the South Sea, he was frightened overboard, as were likewise some *St. Jago* monkeys. As to the antiquity of these

Foxes  
found on  
the Islands.Conjectures  
concerning  
them.

U U 2

‘ foxes,



## PART II.

1690.

‘ foxes, as they cannot fly, and it is not likely they should  
 ‘ swim so far as from *America*, nor again is it probable that  
 ‘ any would be at the pains of bringing a breed of foxes so far  
 ‘ as *Hawkins’ Island* is from any other land, it will follow that  
 ‘ there has either been two distinct creations, or that *America*  
 ‘ and this land have been formerly the same Continent.’ There  
 are means more within the common course of nature than those  
 which occurred to Simson, by which foxes may have become  
 inhabitants of this land. Islands of ice are met at sea in much  
 lower Southern latitudes, many of which no doubt are formed  
 in the bays and rivers of the Continent. Seals and sea-birds  
 repose on the edge of the shore, whether it is ice or land, and  
 foxes or other animals in search of prey will frequently be  
 carried away on the large pieces of ice which break off and are  
 driven out to sea.

February.  
 In the  
 Strait of  
 Magalhanes.

The *Welfare* after quitting *Falkland Sound* sailed Westward  
 for the *Strait of Magalhanes*. About midway they had sound-  
 ings at 80 fathoms, and observed the variation of the compass  
 to be 22° 40’ Easterly. February the 12th, in the morning,  
 they entered the *Strait of Magalhanes*, and by noon had nearly  
 passed through the *First Narrow*, when the wind failing and the  
 flood tide being spent, they anchored in 36 fathoms. When  
 the tide of ebb was at its greatest strength, Captain Strong  
 ascertained its velocity by the log, and found it to run at the  
 rate of nine knots, or geographical miles, *per* hour. This was  
 at the spring tides.

March.

The *Welfare* was above three months making her passage  
 through the *Strait*, and in that time anchored in a variety of  
 places. Their boat went to fish with a large seine on shore at

Natives.

*Batchelors River*. Some natives were there. Richard Simson  
 relates, ‘ these natives were amicable with us till our people  
 ‘ went to fish where some of them were. They had also small  
 ‘ nets with which they supplied and contented themselves, till  
 ‘ unfortunately they saw our people fishing with our seine which  
 ‘ was

‘ was 80 fathoms long. The great number of fishes we caught, CHAP. 1.  
 ‘ raised first their amazement, and then their indignation, which 1690.  
 ‘ increased to that height that they began to give our men dis-  
 ‘ turbance by pelting them with clods, and some ran into the  
 ‘ woods to get their arms, and to gather together the rest of  
 ‘ their companions.’ The English found themselves obliged to  
 repel this attack with their muskets, by which some of the  
 natives were wounded; but the quarrel should have been  
 avoided by offering to share the fish with them.

The 29d of May, they were clear of the *Strait*, and in the May.  
*South Sea*.

June the 10th, Strong arrived at the *Island Mocha*. He June.  
 remarks, ‘ There is much broken ground on the West side of The Island  
 this Island, and at the SW end is a reef of rocks that lies six Mocha.  
 miles off to sea.’ He landed, and found the Island without  
 inhabitants. Horses, dogs, and the ruins of two deserted towns  
 were seen, and turnips were growing in abundance.

The 24th, they were near *Baldivia*, and as they stood in for Baldivia.  
 the harbour, the ship was fired at from the forts. Strong sent  
 a boat to the shore with a flag of truce, but she was not allowed  
 to land. The like attempt was made to obtain communication  
 with the Spaniards at *La Serena*, and at other places more  
 Northward, and with the same want of success. Orders had  
 been given every where along the coast to prohibit all commerce  
 with strangers.

August the 9th, they anchored near the entrance of the August.  
*River of Tumbez*. Here some Spaniards came to them, and On the  
 engaged in a contraband trade, by which they disposed of as Coast of  
 much merchandise as produced 7000 pieces of eight, and a Peru.  
 supply of provisions. On the 19th, they sailed from the *River*  
*of Tumbez*; and the 21st, they anchored on the North side of  
*Point Santa Elena*, two miles within the point, in 10 fathoms. At Point  
 S<sup>a</sup> Elena.

Strong learnt here that a French privateer had within the last  
 six weeks done much mischief on the coast, and that two  
 Spanish

## PART II.

1690.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.At Point  
S<sup>a</sup> Elena.

Spanish ships of war were in search of her. A Padre at *Santa Elena* likewise told him that a year before, a Frenchman named Lodovicus de la Roche, in company with an Englishman, had plundered along the coast, giving no quarter, and that they had cut off the heads of thirty Spaniards at one time. The circumstances here meant, but misunderstood with respect both to name and date, were most probably the barbarities practised by the Buccaneers in 1686 and 1687, in the *Bay of Panama* and at *Guayaquil*.

‘ *Point Santa Elena* maketh like an Island, and like the ‘ *Bill of Portland*.’ Captain Strong made search with his boats along the coast on both sides of the *Point*, and found the remains of a vessel that had been stranded three years before; but of the rich wrecks he came to seek, no marks were discovered. ‘ The master of a Spanish vessel that anchored near ‘ us, told me,’ says Captain Strong, ‘ that the wreck I looked ‘ for lay eight leagues within *Point Santa Elena*, in four fathoms ‘ water, sandy ground, about half a mile from the shore. He ‘ told me farther that she had been there about 25 years, and ‘ that she is entirely buried in the sand, so that now there is no ‘ sign of her. The Spaniards worked upon her with divers, and ‘ did recover some treasure, till by the greatness of the sea the ‘ sand covered her over. The Spanish captain said that there ‘ was twelve millions of monies still in her.’ Captain Strong employed his boats a week in searching near the spot pointed out by the master of the Spanish vessel; but nothing was found; in the mean time, some more of the merchandise was sold to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, from what they heard, as well as from what they had experienced, of the disposition of the Spanish Governors in the *South Sea*, Captain Strong was not encouraged to visit any more of their Settlements, nor to remain longer on the coast. It appears in his journal, that he had given chase to vessels on the coast, and had fired at some  
for

for not shewing their colours; but he says, when he found them to be Spaniards, he did them no wrong.

From *Point Santa Elena* the *Welfare* sailed to the Island *Mas-a-fuero*, where they could not find anchorage; but they got off a boat-load of wood and some goats, and caught fish. They then stood over to *Juan Fernandez*, and were well in with the Island on the evening of the 11th of October. They were surprised at seeing a fire on an elevated part of the land during the night. Early next morning, a boat was sent on shore, which returned, bringing from the Island two Englishmen. These were two of the five men who had left the ship of the Buccaneer Commander Edward Davis, when he touched at *Juan Fernandez* on his return to the *Atlantic*, as related in p. 296 of the History of the Buccaneers. With their assistance, the *Welfare* was piloted to a good anchoring place in a Bay at the Eastern part of the Island, where she lay about three cables length from the shore, in 18 fathoms sand and clay, the outer points of the Bay bearing East and NNW.

These Buccaneers had landed on *Juan Fernandez* in December 1687. One of the five had delivered himself up to some Spaniards who had touched at this Island. The rest kept themselves concealed, and now learning that the Buccaneers had entirely quitted the *South Sea*, they willingly embarked with Captain Strong, and with them four servants or slaves.

October the 22d, Strong left *Juan Fernandez*, and being willing to make one more effort to dispose of his cargo, he sailed again to the coast of *Chili*.

November the 10th, being near the entrance of the River *Biobio*, he sent a boat to the shore; but the sea running high, she could not pass the bar of the river, or find landing. The next day, the sea was not so rough, and the boat entered the river. By Strong's direction, the crew of the boat pretended to the inhabitants that they were Dutch, and that the ship came from *Holland*. There was no reason for supposing that the Dutch

CHAP. 1.

1690.

October.

Mas-a-fuero.

Juan Fernandez.

Four  
Buccaneers  
who had  
lived there  
nearly three  
years.November  
10th.

11th.

Dutch

PART II.

1690.

November.

12th.

13th.

Dutch would be more welcome than the English, and as the ship had so lately stopped at places along the coast, the deception was the more likely to be detected. The inhabitants who came to the place where the boat landed, said they might have no traffic with strangers without leave being obtained from the Governor of *La Concepcion*. On the day following, Strong sent his chief mate with a letter directed to the Governor; but on the crew landing, they were seized by the Spaniards, and eleven men out of fourteen were made prisoners. Three escaped with the boat, and returned to the ship.

Upon this, Captain Strong on the 13th, sent the boat again with another letter, in which he desired that the men who were detained should be treated with kindness, for that the Spaniards would be called upon to answer for their conduct. It was not judged safe farther to trust themselves to the Spaniards, and therefore the letter was placed on a rock in their sight. This was the only step Strong took in favour of the men who had been seized. On the same day, as soon as the boat returned, he got the ship under sail, and pursued his course for the *Strait of Magalhães*, without again landing or stopping at any other part of the coast of *Chili*. He entered the *Strait* by the Western entrance on December the 5th.

Among the men detained by the Spaniards, were three of the Buccaneers who had just before been taken on board the ship at *Juan Fernandez*. And whilst the *Welfare* was on the coast of *Chili*, Strong's people received information concerning Lieutenant Thomas Armiger, who was left at *Baldivia* by Captain Narbrough, in 1670. Simson relates the unfortunate fate of Lieutenant Armiger, who settled at *Baldivia* among the Spaniards, as perforce he was necessitated to do. Having some skill in fortification, he taught them to fortify *Baldivia*. After more than sixteen years residence among the Spaniards, they accused him of treason, and he was executed, probably for no other reason than because they were apprehensive he would endeavour

your to escape to join the Buccaneers. There is cause for surprise that no step appears to have been taken by the British government for the release of this Officer from his long and unjust captivity.

CHAP. I  
1690-1.

The 12th of December, Strong repassed the Eastern entrance of the *Strait*, whence he sailed first to the *West Indies*, and afterwards to *England*, where he arrived in June 1691.

December.

The owners sustained a loss of 12,000*l.* by the voyage of the *Welfare*, although in her return when near home she took two prizes, which were condemned, and helped to defray the charges. It is to be remarked that this voyage was made without any license from the Spanish government to visit the ports of *Chili* and *Peru*. If license was applied for and refused, it was undertaken at great risk. If no application was made, which most probably was the case, the loss must be attributed to the negligence of the owners in this particular.

The discovery of *Falkland Sound*, is a circumstance which must always keep this Voyage in remembrance.

## C H A P. II.

*Notices of the Discoveries of two Islands whose Situations have not been ascertained. Voyage of M. de Gennes to the Strait of Magalhanes. Of Gemelli Careri.*

PART II.  
1691.

Floating  
Weeds near  
California,  
called the  
Señas.

Island  
de San  
Sebastian,  
in 18° 20' N.

GEMELLI CARERI mentions a discovery made in the year 1691, by a vessel which sailed from the *Philippine Islands* bound for *New Spain*: It is only incidentally noticed by him, in advice which he has given for that navigation. He says, 'In latitude 37°, we sailed East, which was in our proper course, for if ships do not place themselves enough to the Northward before they meet the *Señas*, or floating weeds, which are called *Señas* because they are regarded as signals or indications of approach to the Land of *California*, it will be difficult for them afterwards to get to the Northward. So it happened six years ago to the *Pink* that set out for *New Spain* after the galeon *San Josef* was wrecked; for having sailed to 35° N, and not keeping up to that latitude, she could never meet the *Señas*, being too much to leeward, and the crew had all died for want of provisions, if Providence had not ordered that they should put into an unknown Island in 18° 20' N, which was discovered on St. Sebastian's day, and was named *St. Sebastian*. Here they got water out of a small lake, and meat by killing abundance of birds called *bobos*. The Island was small, flat, and full of pleasant trees\*.'

This Island does not appear in the Spanish Charts. According to the above account, it is an uninhabited lagoon Island; concerning its situation in longitude, no conjecture can be made, as it is not noticed whether at the time of the discovery, the *Pink* was far advanced in her passage, or was on her return to the

\* Translation in Churchill, Vol. IV. p. 462

the *Philippines*. There is an Island *de Sebastian Lobos* in the Spanish charts, 11° of longitude East of the Island *Guahan*; but in latitude 25° 30' N. CHAP. 2.  
1691.

In the Chart of the *South Sea* by De Vaugundy, for M. de Brosse's *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*, and also in Bellin's *Atlas Maritime*, an Island *Juan de Gallego* in 1695, is marked about one degree North of the equinoctial line, and twelve degrees Westward of all the *Galapagos Islands*; also intermediate Islands *connues des Espagnols*. M. de Brosse has not mentioned these Islands in his History, nor has any other notice concerning such a discovery been met with in any account which has been consulted for this Work\*.

In 1695, the French Government fitted out a squadron of ships for an expedition against the Spaniards in the *South Sea*. A Narrative of this expedition was published soon after its termination, by M. François Froger, a person who served in the quality of engineer on board the ship of the Commander in Chief, of which an English translation was published in 1698. It was undertaken at the instance of M. de Gennes, a captain in the French Marine, who, M. Froger says, was incited thereto by the representations of a buccaneer named Macerty, who having been successful in the *South Sea*, was willing to try his fortune there once more. The French Government listened to the proposal of M. de Gennes with more than ordinary favour: he was appointed to command the expedition, with leave to chuse such of the King's ships as he thought most fit for the purpose; and many young persons of distinguished families eagerly enlisted to serve in his squadron. 1695.  
Voyage of  
M. de  
Gennes to  
the Strait of  
Magalhanes.

On June the 3d, 1695, M. de Gennes sailed from *Rochelle* with six ships named as follows; *Le Faucon Anglois*, of 46 guns and 260 men, in which ship M. de Gennes sailed; *Le Soleil d'Afrique*, Departure  
from  
Rochelle,  
June 3d.

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\* Don Josef de Espinosa mentions in his *Memoria Segunda*, that a South Sea Whaler saw an Island in 0° 30' S and 98° W of *Cadiz* (104° 17' W of *Greenwich*), supposed to be the *J. del Gallego*.



**PART II.** *d'Afrique*, of 32 guns and 220 men; *Le Seditieux*, of 26 guns and 140 men; *La Felicité*, of 8 guns and 40 men; and two store ships named *La Gloutonne* and *La Féconde*.

July.  
At the  
Island  
Goree.

July the 3d, they made *Cape de Verde*, and the same day anchored near the *Island Goree*, which was then in possession of the French. The following particulars concerning this Island are given by Froger\*. 'Goree is one league distant from the Continent, and four leagues from *Cape de Verde*. The Hollanders were the first Europeans who established themselves at *Goree*. It was taken from them by the French in 1678; and from the French by the English in 1692. The French retook it in 1693, and at this time (in 1695) there were settled on the Island about one hundred French, and some families of free Negroes.'

In the River  
Gambia.

The squadron sailed next to the *River Gambia*, where was a British Fort named *Fort St. James*, which surrendered on being summoned. This was on July the 24th. Such of the effects found in the fort as M. de Gennes wished to preserve, he ordered to be taken on board the squadron. The store ship *La Féconde* was ordered to carry a number of Slaves which the English had collected, and which made the principal part of the booty, to the *West Indies*, and likewise the officers of the English garrison, who were to be sent thence to *France*. One hundred and fifty slaves were put on board this ship:

Barbarous  
treatment  
of Slaves.

'These poor wretches were shut in the hold to prevent them from attempting to escape, where, having scarcely any air to breathe, they cast themselves upon one another in despair, and thirty-four were found suffocated.'

August.

The Fort was demolished, and the *Féconde* sailed for *Cayenne*. M. de Gennes remained in the *River Gambia* till the 25th of August, when he sailed for the coast of *Brasil*; but afterwards changed

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\* *Voyage de M. de Gennes au Detroit de Magellan. Par le S. Froger.* Paris, p. 37.

changed his intention and went to the *Cape de Verde Islands*, where he remained till October. In the beginning of December, the squadron anchored in *Rio Janeiro* harbour. On January the 5th, 1696, they left the coast of *Brasil*, and sailed Southward for the *Strait of Magalhanes*.

CHAP. 2.  
Cape de  
Verde  
Islands.  
1696.  
January.

The proceedings of M. de Gennes to this time were almost beyond example dilatory and improvident, and the consequences were such as might naturally have been expected. It should have been his endeavour to secure his passage into the *South Sea* before, or by, the end of the year, for which there was more than sufficient time, after he left the *River Gambia*. But M. de Gennes seems to have been apprehensive that he should arrive at the *Strait* too early.

January the 31st, the surface all round was so covered with small red craw-fish or shrimps, that, M. Froger says, it might have been named the Red Sea. The latitude is not mentioned; but on the 4th of February they first had sight of the *Tierra del Fuego*. Afterwards, they had nearly run on a bank, by trusting to the recollection of some on board who had before been this way, in preference to their charts. On the 11th, the squadron anchored in the *Bay de la Possession*. On the 13th, they entered the *Strait of Magalhanes*, and anchored in the Bay on the North side between the two *Angosturas* or *Narrows*, which M. de Gennes named *Baye Boucault*.

February.

13th.  
Enter the  
Strait of  
Magalhanes.  
Baye  
Boucault.

During the remainder of February and March, M. de Gennes endeavoured to gain passage through the *Strait*; but the winds, except at two short intervals, were fixed in the Western quarters, and the cold was extreme. The following are the remarks of most importance made by M. Froger whilst in the *Strait of Magalhanes*.

In the Eastern part of the *Strait* they saw porpoises which were all white excepting the head and tail. On the *Island St. George* (*Santa Magdalena* in the Spanish Chart), they found mushrooms. At *Port Famine* they saw some natives who were building

Natives.

## PART II.

1696.

February.

In the  
Strait of  
Magalhães.

building two small boats of bark. Among them was a man who seemed not less than eighty years old, and who appeared to have some authority over the rest. They had slings, arrows, and five or six small dogs, which it was thought assisted them in the chase. These people were of good size and robust: they had long black hair, but cut on the top of the head in the shape of a crown: they were painted white over the face, arms, and on parts of the body. Notwithstanding the cold, they had no other clothing than a garment made of seal skins hanging over their shoulders: the tallest of them was not six feet [French measure] in height.

Baye  
Françoise.

M. de Gennes afterwards anchored in a Bay about two leagues North Eastward of *Cape Froward*, to which was given the name of *Baye Françoise*, and a river which empties itself in the Bay, was named *Riviere de Gennes*. Froger has given a Chart of *Baye Françoise*; but a more regular survey, taken by the Spaniards in 1786, who call it *Bahia de San Nicolas*, is published in the *Ultimo Viage al Estrecho*.

In an account of a subsequent voyage, it is said that a boat belonging to the squadron of M. de Gennes passed, by some channel, through the *Tierra del Fuego*\*. No circumstance of the kind is mentioned by M. Froger.

April.

On April the 3d, M. de Gennes held a council with his officers, in which it was resolved that if in the course of the two next days the wind did not change in their favour, they would sail back out of the Strait. On the 5th, the wind not having altered, they took up their anchors, being then in *Port Galant*, and set sail to return. On the 11th, they repassed the Eastern entrance, 'keeping between the *Tierra del Fuego* shore, and some banks which are at the entrance of the Strait.'

M. de  
Gennes  
sails back  
out of the  
Strait.

Having abandoned the purpose of the expedition, they sailed  
to

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\* M. Frezier, in speaking of a deep inlet in the *Tierra del Fuego*, says, 'c'est peut-être le même par où débouqua un bateau de l'Escadre de M. de Gennes en 1696. Frezier's Voyage, 12mo edition, p. 509.'

to *Brasil*; afterwards on a cruise to the *West Indies*; and finally CHAP. 2.  
returned to the Port of *Rochelle* in April 1697.

Froger endeavours to palliate the mismanagement of M. de Gennes by attributing the failure of the expedition to the little experience they had of the seasons for the winds. M. de Gennes must have known winter from summer; and that trying to make the passage early must at least have given an additional chance of success. His defeating in so frivolous a manner an expedition of great expectation, is the more extraordinary for its having been undertaken at his own suggestions and application; and which after all he relinquished when the ships had not been two months in the *Strait*.

Froger's Narrative is well written, and embellished with good plates. The charts and plans given by him are draughts or sketches rather than surveys, and done with some care; but their use has been superseded by more regular surveys since taken.

IN the summer and autumn of 1697, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri made his passage from *Manila* to *New Spain*. The Travels of Careri have been questioned. Pere du Halde has not gone so far as to dispute their reality, but he charges Careri with not being scrupulous, and with want of correctness in some particulars. P. du Halde says, 'Some persons of no great  
' sincerity have thought to amuse their readers agreeably by  
' supplying from their own resources the knowledge they did  
' not possess. This has been done by an Italian voyager in a  
' book printed at *Naples* in 1720, entitled, *Giro del Mondo*.  
' He gives a minute description of the Emperor of China's  
' Palace, of which he had no other ideas than those of his own  
' forming\*.' Gemelli has written a quiet narrative with little mixture of extraordinary incident, yet it gives cause for suspicion,

1697.  
Of  
Gemelli  
Careri.

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\* *Preface to the History of China.*

PART II.  
1697.

cion, by being in great part composed of descriptions of things which he had not seen himself; and places which he does not pretend to have visited. His journal relates his making a tour round the World, commenced from *Naples* and concluded by his return thither, performed partly by sea and partly by land, in the years from 1693 to 1699, a part of each included.

His Passage  
across the  
Pacific.

Careri, according to his journal, travelled over-land to *India*; in shipping to *China*; and thence to the *Philippine Islands*. From *Manila* he sailed in a Spanish ship which carried the royal treasure to *Acapulco*. This is the only part of his journal which has connexion with *South Sea* navigation. Gemelli makes no claim to any discovery in his passage, but relates particulars which he professes to have learnt from pilots and mariners on board, who were experienced in that navigation. These consist of slight notices concerning the Islands *Rica de Oro*, *Rica de Plata*, *San Sebastian*, and *Donna Maria Larara*; also of the *Señas* or floating weeds near the coast of *California*. All of these have been remarked in the preceding part of this Work. Some particulars of the navigation from *Manila* to *New Spain*, are awkwardly described; but those given as the reports of the pilots and mariners, by whatever means Careri obtained them, have more the appearance of being what he has represented, than of having been invented by himself.

## C H A P. III.

*Of the Expeditions of the Spaniards in California, to their first Establishment, in 1697.*

THE Voyages of Francisco de Ulloa, and Juan Rodriguez CHAP. 3.  
Cabrillo, completed the discovery of the coasts of *California*; and Vizcaino's Voyages gained an intimate knowledge of the Western coast. The last voyage of Vizcaino was in 1603, between which time and the year 1697, several attempts were made by order of the government of *New Spain*, to colonise *California*; but at distinct intervals, and they failed from the weakness of the means employed. It is said there was much difficulty in furnishing subsistence for new settlers in an uncultivated country, which business it might be supposed could have been managed with ease, as the Northern provinces of *New Spain* abound in provisions, and the distance is short. But it appears that most of the persons employed were more intent on procuring pearls from the natives of *California* than on contriving means for the maintenance of an establishment. The oysters in which the pearls are bred, lie in great numbers on banks on the Californian side of the Gulf; and the inhabitants of the provinces of *Cinaloa* and *Culiacan* had long frequented the Eastern coast of *California* to procure pearls, both by barter with the natives and by fishing for them.

Of the attempts to conquer and colonise *California* previous to 1697, the one most deserving of notice was made in the year 1683, under the direction of Don Isidro Otondo, who was Governor of the province of *Cinaloa*, and thereby the better enabled to make provision for a settlement. The title of *Almirante de las Californias* was conferred on Don Isidro, and three Missionaries of the Order of Jesus were appointed to go with him to instruct and convert the natives. Two Narratives are published of this expedition, one in tome 3<sup>me</sup> de *Recueil de*  
Expedition to California, in 1683.

VOL. IV.

Y Y

*Voyages*

**PART II.** *Voyages au Nord*, the other in the *Noticia de la California*,  
 Expedition vol. i. part 2.  
 to  
 California,  
 in 1683.

In the spring of 1683, Don Isidro departed from *Nueva Galicia* with two ships, on board of which were above a hundred men. On the 30th of March, they anchored in Port *De la Paz* (formerly *Puerto de Cortes*). Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, the superior of the mission, who was esteemed a good mathematician, gives the latitude of the entrance of this Port  $24^{\circ} 45' N^*$ .

‘ The old accounts relate that the Californians were accus-  
 ‘ tomed to go off in their canoes and upon catamarans to ships,  
 ‘ on their first arrival, with great demonstrations of friendship;  
 ‘ but on this occasion, no canoe went off, nor was any inhabitant  
 ‘ seen on the land. The Almirante and his officers landed with  
 ‘ a number of men, and embarked again at night. This they did  
 ‘ several days following, and they planted a cross to take posses-  
 ‘ sion of the country in the name of God and of the King.’ The  
 Spaniards suspected that the natives kept themselves concealed  
 in the neighbouring woods, which wishing to discover, they left  
 on the shore when they embarked in the evening, some Indian  
 corn, biscuit, with other eatables, and some beads; but when  
 they landed on the morning following, the things did not  
 appear to have been touched by any one. This did not remove  
 the suspicions of the Spaniards, and on the fifth day they began  
 to construct a small fort. That same day, the Almirante going  
 with others on an eminence, they perceived great smokes in  
 different parts of the country, which were thought to be signals  
 of alarm. The Spaniards slept on shore that night at their  
 new quarters. The next day, about thirty-five men of the natives  
 came towards them armed with bows and darts, and making  
 loud cries and gestures, intimating that the Spaniards should  
 quit the land. The Spaniards had retired within their works,  
 and after replying to the natives by many conciliatory signs,  
 two

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\* *Relation d'une descente dans la Californie. Voyages au Nord. Tom. III. p. 460.*

two of the Missionaries went to them with presents of provisions and toys, which after some hesitation were accepted; and in a very short time the natives became quite as familiar as was desirable to their visitors.

CHAP. 3.

Expedition  
to  
California  
in 1683.

The Spaniards soon afterwards built a church which was consecrated to *Nuestra Senora de la Guadalupe*, and began to make habitations. One of the ships was dispatched to the *River Hiaqui*, or *Yaqui*, for a supply of provisions. In this part of *California* were people of two nations, perfectly distinct and speaking different languages. One, the *Koras*, who were supposed to be the original inhabitants, are praised in the accounts for being of affable dispositions, communicative, and docile. Their language comprehended all the sounds in the Spanish alphabet, and they could readily pronounce the Spanish words. They made the sign of the cross, and repeated distinctly the prayers after the Missionaries. From the beginning of their acquaintance with the Spaniards, their children came and played and took diversion with those of the Spaniards. They were always glad at being offered any thing to eat, and would pass their hand across their belly to signify they were hungry, not that they were distressed for want of provision, for they had venison, with which they sometimes regaled the Spaniards, and the forests were full of game. The other nation were called the *Guaycuros*. They never visited the Spanish fort without their arms, and never took their wives or children there. They expressed their dissatisfaction in the most open manner at the Spaniards abiding in their country, and threatened that they would unite to extirpate them if they did not soon depart. No other knowledge of their language was obtained than that it was different from that of the *Koras*; neither could the Spaniards gain on their dispositions; on the contrary, their perverseness and obstinacy are complained of as the principal obstacles to the prospering of the Settlement formed at this time in the *Bay de la Paz*.

Settlement  
formed at  
Port de la  
Paz.

Tribe of the  
Natives  
called  
*Koras*.

The  
*Guaycuros*.



**PART II.**  
Expedition  
to  
California  
in 1683.

Natives  
treacherously  
murdered.

The Settle-  
ment of  
Port de la  
Paz  
abandoned.

The Almirante ordered parties on excursions to a good distance within land, and the natives were found peaceable; but impatient for the Spaniards to be gone. In this state of affairs, a quarrel happened between the Spaniards and the natives. It is said that a mulatto boy strayed from the Spanish quarters, and never returned; and that the Guaycuros were suspected to have killed him. It is also suspected that the story of the mulatto boy was an invention fabricated to palliate the subsequent proceedings of the Almirante Otondo. The Guaycuros continued irreconcilable to the establishment of the Spaniards in their country, and the Almirante wished to make them feel his resentment. The account given of Otondo's expedition in the *Noticia de la California* was probably written either by himself or by some person closely connected with him and his determinations. It says that the Guaycuros, not being able to persuade the Koras to join them to expel the Spaniards, the Koras being themselves in need of protection from the violences of the Guaycuros, they, the Guaycuros, collected to the number of about 1500, and surrounded the fort. 'The Spaniards remained quiet, and the Indians advanced towards the garrison. When they came within proper distance, they were fired at from the fort, and ten or twelve of them were killed and many wounded, whereupon the rest fled.' A Mémorial which about twenty years afterwards was presented to the Viceroy of Mexico, speaks to the fact in a manner which clearly shews that by a false shew of reconciliation, the natives were inveigled to an entertainment and traitorously fired upon.

The Almirante of the *Californias* gained no other purpose by his act than the gratification of his revenge. The ship which had been sent for provisions to the *Hiaqui*, was detained by contrary winds; and the month of July arrived, without her being heard of at *de la Paz*. The people of the Settlement became dispirited, and apprehensive that the natives would take a severe revenge for their murdered countrymen. Under these unprosperous

unprosperous circumstances, the Almirante, on the 14th of July, broke up his Settlement, and embarking with all his people, returned to the opposite coast. The Memorial above mentioned says, ‘ the Settlement *de la Paz*, the very centre of the ‘ *Placeres* or Pearl beds, was quitted with disgrace, ‘ *Quedando* ‘ *todavia alzada esta Nacion Guaycura por las muertes, que hizo* ‘ *el Almirante con los Indios, que estaban alrededor de un cazo* ‘ *grande, comiendo actualmente maiz cocido, á que los havia com-* ‘ *bidado:*’ i. e. ‘ leaving also the Guaycura nation exasperated by the murders which the Almirante had committed upon the Indians, who were gathered together round a great kettle, and in the act of eating boiled maize to which they had been invited.’

CHAP. 3.  
Expedition  
to  
California  
in 1683.

In the beginning of October, the Almirante, having recruited his stock of provisions, again sailed across the Gulf. On the 6th, he anchored in a large bay of *California* in  $26\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N latitude. This was thought a convenient situation for a Settlement, and the inhabitants appeared tractable. A fort and a church were built, and the place was named *San Bruno*, because their arrival in the bay was on the festival of that Saint.

Second  
Expedition  
of Otondo.

Settlement  
of  
*San Bruno*.

The Spaniards continued the establishment at *San Bruno* near two years. The natives shewed a willingness to embrace the Christian Religion, and the fathers studied and made good progress in two different languages of the country, into which they translated parts of the church service ; but they had penetration to foresee that the termination of this enterprise was not very distant, and conscientiously forebore to baptize the natives except when any were at the point of death.

Before the expiration of the second year, Otondo and his principal officers pronounced the situation of *San Bruno* to be unwholesome, and the country near it barren and incapable of maintaining a Settlement. The fact was, that the *Placeres*, or Pearl beds, were much fewer and less productive at this part of the coast than near *Port de la Paz*, and the Spaniards of the colony

1685.

PART II.  
1685.

colony had been long enough at *San Bruno* to collect from the natives all the pearls in their possession. No one in the Settlement had a stronger fancy for a good pearl than the Almirante. If a native had a better pearl than common, and gave or disposed of it to any other person than himself, he could not contain his rage : and this caused him to be so much disliked by his own people, that it is said he was more than once in danger of losing his life by their hands. After his declaration against the situation of *San Bruno*, he called a council of the Missionaries and the principal officers, to whose consideration he proposed the question, whether they should continue or abandon the Settlement ; and each member was required to sign his opinion. That of a majority of the officers, was for quitting *San Bruno* ; but the Missionaries gave theirs for continuing the establishment. To these opinions, the Almirante added his own, and sent them by a dispatch to the Viceroy of *Mexico*, with a proposal to remove the Colony to some more commodious part of *California*.

San Bruno  
abandoned.

The answer of the Viceroy arrived in September 1685, which noticed the great expence already incurred, and directed that no new Settlement should be attempted, but that the one at *San Bruno* should, if possible, be maintained. Notwithstanding these directions, in a very short time after they were received, Otondo, on the plea of scarcity of provisions, embarked with the Colonists, and some Californians whom he kept as slaves, and returned to *New Spain*. The attempts made under Otondo for the Settlement of *California*, cost the royal treasury 225,000 crowns. It was alleged in excuse for the failure, that the seasons during those two years were unfavourable to vegetation, and consequently to the maintenance of the colonists ; and that at *San Bruno* eighteen months passed without any rain falling.

The unprofitable issue of Otondo's expeditions, and the necessities of the Court of *Madrid*, saved the Californians from being again troubled by the Spaniards till near the end of the reign

reign of Charles II. New proposals, however, with estimates, CHAP. 3. and offers of contributing, were submitted by private persons to the Spanish ministry, and an order was in consequence sent to advance 30,000 crowns to the Almirante of the Californias, Otondo, who, in spite of all his misdeeds, was again to have been trusted; but before the time for payment, a fresh and pressing demand for money arrived from *Madrid*, which intercepted the supplies for many occasions, and among them the intended advance for the conquest of *California*.

The Padre Francisco Kino, nevertheless, continued constantly to desire the conversion, and ceased not to make solicitation, both to the Viceroy of *Mexico* and to the P. General of his order. In these endeavours he was at length joined by another Jesuit, P. Juan Maria de Salvatierra, a man of much prudence and ability. In the beginning of 1697, they obtained a licence from the superiors of their order to raise collections towards their work from the piously disposed. The reduction of *California* had always been a popular undertaking with the Spaniards in *Mexico*, and a fund was soon furnished by private contributions. The Viceroy granted the two Fathers a licence to make an entrance into *California*, in which was included that of enlisting soldiers at their own expence to serve them as a guard, and to appoint a commander; upon condition that they should take possession of the country in the King's name, and that they should not draw upon the royal treasury: and they had also the privilege granted them of appointing persons to administer justice in the new conquest.

1697.  
Conquest of  
California  
again  
undertaken.

In February, Padre de Salvatierra departed from the city of *Mexico* for *Cinaloa*. A galiot and a barca longa, being the contribution of Don Pedro de la Sierpe who had the office of treasurer of *Acapulco*, were sent from that port to the River *Hiaqui*, where the Mission was to embark. It had been agreed between the Fathers Kino and Salvatierra, that they should meet at the *Hiaqui*; but in consequence of insurrections of the native

PART II.  
1697.

October.  
Salvatierra  
departs for  
California.

native inhabitants in some of the Northern Provinces of *New Spain*, Kino, who had spiritual superintendence there, was prevented from keeping his appointment. After the lapse of some months, Padre Francisco Maria Piccolo was nominated to supply his place; but before Piccolo could arrive at the *Hiaqui*, P. de Salvatierra, apprehensive of new delays, the year being far advanced, on October the 10th, set sail with the galiot and barca longa. His military retinue consisted of nine soldiers, three of whom were natives of *New Spain*.

After leaving the *Hiaqui*, the barca longa lost company. On the third day, the galiot by herself made the coast of *California*. She looked in at different parts along the coast, and on Saturday the 19th, anchored in a bay which was named *de San Dionysio*, a few leagues to the South of the place where the Settlement of *San Bruno* had stood. 'The bay was in the shape of a half moon, and the distance from point to point, nearly five leagues. 'The country round was covered with trees and verdure, and 'there was good fresh water within a small distance of the 'shore'.\* P. de Salvatierra with his followers, landed. The *Noticia de la California* says, they were received with joy and affection by the inhabitants. According to Padre Piccolo, the natives attacked Salvatierra, and were sharply repulsed, but afterwards became tractable†, and Salvatierra with his small troop advanced about a league and a half from the sea, to a place called *Concho* by the natives, which was in sight from the bay, and here they encamped. This easy admission gained by a party so few in number, may be attributed in some degree to the engaging, and at the same time commanding, appearance of the Missionary chief, Salvatierra. 'The provisions, animals, 'and baggage were landed, and the Padre, who was a strong 'robust man, marched the foremost of his company, with a 'load

\* *Not. de la California*. Part III. § 1.

† *Memoire touchant la Californie*. *Voyages au Nord*, tome 3<sup>me</sup>. p. 445. This Memoir is an Extract from a Report made by the Padre Fr. M. Piccolo, to the Royal Council at *Mexico*, on the affairs of the *California* Mission.

‘load on his shoulders.’ They built a wall and dug intrenchments round their quarters, and within, in the centre, set up a tent to serve as a temporary chapel. An image of our Lady of *Loreto*, in the character of the ‘*Patrona de la Conquista*,’ was carried in procession from the galiot to the chapel; and conformably to the order contained in the Viceroy’s grant, possession was taken of the country for the King of *Spain*. Thus was founded the *Presidio de Loreto*.

CHAP. 3.

1697.

Presidio de  
San Loreto  
founded.

Salvatierra applied to the study of the languages of the country, in which he found help from the papers of the former mission, and was soon able to discourse with and to instruct the natives. P. Piccolo says many different nations were found in *California*, but he specifies only two languages, one called the *Monqui* the other the *Laimone*.

To encourage the natives to attend at the church service, P. Salvatierra distributed to each of his auditors after the lesson was finished, an allowance of boiled maize, which was called *Pozoli*; to which use half a bushel of maize was devoted every day.

At the end of a week, the galiot was dispatched to the *Hiaqui* to bring over P. Piccolo, with more soldiers and provisions. Soon after her departure, the *Presidio* became involved in a quarrel with the natives, in a manner which had not been foreseen. The *pozoli* was much liked, and answered the intention of increasing the attendance of the natives at church; but the larger the congregation, the smaller became the allowances of *pozoli*, which occasioned first complaints, and afterwards pilfering from the sacks; so that it became necessary to limit the admissions into the *Presidio*. The natives resented the restriction by assaulting the goats and cattle; and a horse, the only one which had been brought over, they killed and devoured. About the middle of November, four different tribes of the natives came against the fort, the Spanish History of *California* says, ‘set on by their sorcerers who every where disseminated

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‘that

PART II. ' that the Spaniards came to take and carry them away to  
 1697. ' another country.' Without being much of conjurors, it was not difficult even for the simple Californians to foretel the danger that what had been so recently practised in Otondo's expedition might be repeated. The Californians however could do nothing against the fort, and became reconciled. Before the end of November the *barca longa* arrived, as did the galiot with P. Piccolo.

The chapel was now made a regular stone building. ' Hence-  
 ' forth,' said the Fathers, ' the standard of Christ will not be  
 ' removed from these countries.' From this time great progress was made in the conversion. The labours of the Mission were divided in the following manner; the Padre Piccolo gave his instruction within the *Presidio* to the children of the natives,  
 ' whilst P. Salvatierra visited the adults without the intrench-  
 ' ments; and thus without any seeming design, the children  
 ' were made to serve as hostages.' The increase of the *Presidio* by the fresh arrivals from *New Spain* soon rendered unnecessary  
 1700. such precaution. In the beginning of the year 1700, the number of settlers from *New Spain* (Spaniards, Mestizos, and Mexicans) amounted to six hundred; and in the year following, the Missionary reports state, that they had brought the natives of more than 50 leagues extent of country to obedience, and had founded four towns, in which of baptized christians and catechumens above 2600 resided. A second *Presidio*, by which appellation the principal Missionary stations were known, was founded Westward of the first, within a short distance of the exterior coast, and was named after San Francisco Xavier. Near it is a high mountain, from whose summit may be seen both the outer ocean and the sea of the Californian Gulf.

In this advanced state, the Mission was in danger of falling to the ground. The funds by which it was maintained rested still on private benefactions; and in 1700, it is said because of the low state of their finances, P. de Sanvitores discharged  
 eighteen



eighteen of his soldiers. The soldiers indeed were not so necessary as formerly to the safety of the Missionaries, the number of settlers that had arrived, and were arriving daily, from *New Spain* forming for them a more secure protection ; but the Mission languished for want of pecuniary assistance, till a Jesuit Father named Ugarte who was their agent in *Mexico*, by great exertions obtained an unusual flow of contributions, which he laid out in necessities, and embarked with them himself for *California*. Padre Ugarte afterwards undertook the charge of the new *Presidio* of *San Xavier*, and the following anecdote of him is related to have happened whilst in the performance of his ministerial duties there. The Padre had not sufficiently made himself master of the language of the country to avoid making mistakes, and the Californians, his auditors, were so deficient in good breeding as to notice them by loud laughter, for which he reproved them ; but their unseasonable mirth was not to be so repressed. One day that a Californian had the presumption in the like manner to disturb the performance of service, the meekness and patience of the good Father was quite overcome, and, being a large powerful man, he seized the Indian whilst in the midst of his laughter, by the hair, and lifting him from the ground, swung him backward and forward. The rest of the congregation ran away in great terror, but when they returned, the account says, were perfectly cured of their rudeness.

To ease the burthen of the Mission, P. Salvatierra petitioned and obtained that the soldiers kept in *California* should be paid by the King. The officers of the troops had shewn dissatisfaction at being subordinate to the superior of the Missionaries. Salvatierra defended this arrangement, in a Letter written by him to the Viceroy, in which he remarked ‘ that the pearls on  
‘ the coast of *California* were a strong allurements, and if the  
‘ Fathers had not possessed the power of displacing the Com-  
‘ mander of the troops, some avaricious and violent spirits  
‘ would



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1700-1.

‘ would have compelled the Indians, both the Gentiles and the Christians, to go fishing for pearls, by laying a tax upon them, which might produce insurrection and the loss of the country, as on account of its ruggedness no horse could be employed to recover it.’ In consequence of Salvatierra’s representation, the control of the military was for the present continued on its original footing.

Philip the Fifth, in the first year of his reign, sent orders to *New Spain* for support to be given to the establishments in *California*; and from that time the dominion of the Spaniards over the *Peninsula* may be regarded as established, although they were not so numerous there as to spread over the whole country, and in many parts the inhabitants remained long afterwards in a state of independence. ‘ After a time,’ says Padre Piccolo, ‘ we thought of seeking for other people to whom we might be of service. P. Salvatierra went Northward, and I took a route towards the South and West. We remarked in our advance that many nations having different languages were found living together. During the summer, the heat is great near the Eastern coast, and it seldom rains; but in the inland country, the heat is never extreme. In the rainy season, it is a deluge of waters: when the rains are over, great dews fall, which makes the land fruitful. In the months of April, May, and June, there falls with the dew a kind of manna, which congeals and hardens on the leaves of roses, from whence it is gathered. I have tasted this manna: it has not quite the whiteness of sugar, but has all the sweetness. To judge from our own experience, the climate must be very healthy, for now, at the end of five years\*, all of us who first entered this country are alive and well; and of other Spaniards, two only have died, one of whom was a woman who was so imprudent as to bathe herself when near being delivered.’ P. Piccolo’s description of the climate much dis-credits

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\* Piccolo’s *Memoire* is dated February 10th, 1703.

credits the account given of a long continued drought at *San Bruno* during the residence there of *Otondo*. CHAP. 3.

At the close of the seventeenth century, it was held doubtful whether *California* was an Island or part of the Continent. Not that there was any question of the truth of the accounts of *Francisco de Ulloa* and *Hernando de Alarçon*, but it was thought that what they had seen was not sufficient to establish fully the junction of *California* with the Continent\*. *De Lisle*, the geographer, in a Letter he published concerning *California*, mentions a chart made in the year 1695, which was sent to the French Academy, wherein *California* is represented as an Island. It seems that in the time *D. Diego Lopez de Pacheco*, Duque de Escalona, was Viceroy of *New Spain*, which was in the years 1640 to 1642, the same doubt was entertained, and during his Viceroyalty, he sent orders to the Governor of *Cinaloa* to take a survey of the coast of *California* opposite. *P. Jacinto Cortes*, a Jesuit Missionary, accompanied the Governor; but they did not go so far as to the head of the *Gulf*. *M. de Lisle* relates also that *M. Froger*, the narrator of *De Gennes'* expedition, said he had seen a Spanish pilot who affirmed to him that he had sailed round *California*. Question concerning the Junction of California with the Continent.

Towards the end of the year 1700, *P. Francisco Kino*, who had been prevented from accompanying *Salvatierra* to *California*, made a progress Northward from the River *Hiaqui*, and arrived at the River *Colorado*, not at its entrance; but from the top of a mountain he saw where the river joined the Sea of *California*. The following year, *Salvatierra* went over from *California*, and joined *Kino*, and these two Fathers in company undertook another journey to the *Colorado*. Of this expedition *P. Salvatierra* has spoken in the following manner, in a Letter addressed to the P. General, *Thyrso Gonzales*. ' I make known to you, Reverend Father, that having lauded ' on the side of *New Spain*, and having travelled along by that ' coast The Junction verified by P. P. Kino and Salvatierra.

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\* At the end of Vol. I, is a Chart of *California* and the *Gulf*.

PART II.  
1701-2.

‘ coast until I had certain information from the Indians near  
‘ the *Colorado* that they had communication by land with the  
‘ Indians of *California*, and not trusting wholly to the said  
‘ information, I journeyed on in company with P. Eusebio  
‘ Francisco Kino, until from a mountain not very high, we could  
‘ discern the woody mountains of *California* join with those of  
‘ *New Spain*.’ The next year P. Kino again verified the junction  
by another journey to the *River Colorado*, which he came to at  
a part distant from the sea, and followed its course till it fell  
into the *Californian Gulf*.

Padre Miguel Venegas, the Historian of *California*, represents the insurrections of the native inhabitants to have been few and of small consequence. In some of the places where the Faith had been admitted, he remarks, it was far from being firmly established. In the Histories of the Spanish Conquests, the test of Indian faith has been submission in all things to the Spaniards. As *California*, from its proximity to *New Spain* could not escape Spanish conversion, it may be reckoned good fortune that the business came into such hands as P. de Sanvitores, who has been styled the Apostle of *California*. Yet according to the latest descriptions, it appears that the natives are reduced to a state of childishness beyond all other example to be met with among mankind ; which was not effected entirely without struggle, by which several of the Fathers were indebted to the Californians for the glory of martyrdom.

C H A P. IV.

*The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies.  
History of the Colony formed by them at Darien.*

**A**N Enterprize of great promise, undertaken by a Commercial Company formed in *Scotland*, which had in view the establishment of a direct intercourse between the two *Indies*, by a navigation across the *Pacific Ocean*, will be the subject of the present Chapter. CHAP. 4.

Such intercourse had long been possessed by the Spaniards, to whom it was in a very small degree productive, comparatively with what it must have been if left open. In 1695, the Parliament of *Scotland* obtained the assent of the King, William III<sup>d</sup>. to an Act, empowering the subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland* ‘to erect Societies or Companies for the establishment and carrying on trade with any whatsoever nations and countries or places in Asia, Africa, and America, not inhabited, or any other places with consent of the natives and inhabitants thereof, under the limitation and restriction that such places were not previously and antecedently possessed by any European prince or state. Also, that they might furnish the said places with ordnance and stores of war for the defence of their trade, colonies, and plantations; and it should be deemed lawful for them to make reprisals and seek reparation for damages done unto them.’ On the passing this Act, many merchants, and other wealthy persons, among whom were some of the first consideration in *Scotland*, associated and obtained a charter forming them into a company under the title of *The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies*. And for the further encouragement of the people of *Scotland* to enter

Act of the  
Parliament  
of Scotland,  
June 1695.

Company  
of Scotland  
trading to  
Africa and  
the Indies.

PART II. enter into societies for carrying on commerce to distant parts, it was enacted, or granted in the Charter of the Company, that *their merchandise and effects should be free from all manner of restraints, prohibitions, customs and taxes, for and during the space of twenty-one years, provided that one half of their funds and effects should be the property of natural born subjects of Scotland.*

Directors were appointed, and books opened to receive subscriptions. The particular object of the Company was not immediately made known; but to give publicity to their proceedings corresponding with the extensiveness of their views, they contracted for ships to be built in *Holland*, and in *Hamburg*; and the privileges granted to the Company inspiring hopes of great undertakings, subscriptions poured in to the amount of 400,000*l.* or, according to one account, of half a million.

Mr. Paterson, a clergyman, and native of *Scotland*, who had been several years in *America*, first suggested to the principal managers of the new Company a plan for a Settlement on the *Isthmus of Darien*, thence to engage in commerce with *Japan*, *China*, and the *Spice Islands*. Paterson's plan was approved and adopted, but the matter was not made public till some time after it was determined upon. Lionel Wafer was then in *England*, and as his knowledge of the *Darien* country and language, as well as his personal acquaintance with the chiefs, might be of great service to the undertaking, the Directors wrote to invite him to *Edinburgh*, whither he went to advise with them on their plan. The managing Directors and Wafer however did not agree; and Wafer complains that after obtaining from him all the useful information he had to give, they dismissed him with but small compensation for his trouble.

When the intention of the Company to colonize *Darien* became publicly known, it seems to have excited a considerable degree of alarm in all who were concerned in the commerce of either *India*. The Spaniards, with whose interests it most interfered,

interfered, were among the last who were heard to exclaim against the project. The Parliament of *England* however were not slow in becoming their advocates. They had in the beginning expressed their disapprobation at the privileges granted to the Company of *Scotland*; and their dissatisfaction on that head made them now protest against the justice and legality of the undertaking, as being an invasion of the rights of the Crown of *Spain*, and calculated to produce a war. The true ground of their dissatisfaction was shortly after more explicitly declared in a joint Address of the Lords and Commons of *England* to the King, wherein they complained that the Act of the Scottish Parliament would be ruinous to the trade of *England*, ‘by reason of the duties and difficulties that lie upon the Indian trade in *England*, and the great advantages given to the Company of *Scotland* by their charter; in consequence whereof a great part of the stock and shipping of *England* would be carried thither, and by that means *Scotland* be made a free port for all East Indian commodities, and be able to serve the several places in *Europe* cheaper than can be done by the English’—‘and the said Indian commodities may likewise be brought from *Scotland* into *England* by stealth, to the vast prejudice both of English trade and of the king’s revenue. And they prayed the King that he would interpose his authority to prevent English subjects from subscribing to the Scots Company.’ To this Address the King returned answer, ‘I have been ill served in *Scotland*: but I hope some remedies may be found to prevent the inconveniences which may arise from this Act\*.’

The exemptions granted to the Scots Company could not but be displeasing, and might have proved of great injury to the English

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\* Collection of Addresses, Memorials, Proclamations, and other Public Papers relating to the Company of *Scotland* trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*. Printed in the year 1700.

## PART II.

English nation. The King had granted them inconsiderately, and repented, but could not recall his grant. Had it not been for the exemptions, the English, it is probable, would have been glad to have joined with the Scotch in their undertaking, which was capable of furnishing employment for an increased fund. Some proposals were made for an accommodation, the particulars of which do not appear; but as they came to no agreement, it may be supposed that sufficient compensation was not offered to prevail on the Scotch to give up the exemptions from duties.

King William changed his Scottish ministers in displeasure, and sent orders to the English Resident at *Hamburgh* to present a Memorial to the Senate, to desire that they would not join in, nor in any manner countenance, the project of the Company of *Scotland*. This Memorial produced an Address from the Council of the Company of *Scotland* to the King, remonstrating against his doing them injury in their commercial concerns with other nations. The King felt the justness of their complaint, and sent fresh orders to his minister at *Hamburgh* to prevent the farther use of his name in obstruction of the concerns of the Company.

Ships built  
and  
equipped  
by the  
Company.

Great  
Delays.

In consequence of what had passed, several of the subscribers withdrew their names. The Company, notwithstanding all opposition, adhered to their plan, and proceeded in their preparations. They caused four large ships to be built, calculated equally for commerce, and for resisting hostility; but from difficulties thrown in their way, or want of alacrity in the management, great delays took place in the equipment, which; as they had many people to pay and maintain, occasioned so great an expense, that it became necessary to contract the scale of their plan; and they sold their largest ship, named the *Rising Sun*, mounting 60 guns, built at *Amsterdam*. The other ships, in the autumn of 1697, rendezvoused in *Edinburgh Frith*, where they continued till July in the following summer.

On

On the 17th of that month, the ships of the Company, composing a squadron of five sail, i.e. the *Caledonia* of 50 guns, the *St. Andrew*, and the *Unicorn*, of about 40 guns each, and two tenders, having on board 1200 men, set sail from *Edinburgh Frith* for *America*, cheered by the shouts and acclamations of a vast concourse of their countrymen, who had assembled to witness their departure.

CHAP. 4.

1698.

July.

They sail  
from  
Scotland  
for  
America.

They went round Northward by the *Orcades*. Some time in August they anchored at *Madeira*, whence they sailed September the 2d, and October the 27th, anchored in a bay of the coast of *Darien*, near the entrance of the Gulf of that name. After taking a view of the coast, on November the 3d, they removed to near *Golden Island*. This Island, with other small Islands immediately Westward, form a line of shelter, making with the opposite coast of *Darien* a capacious and safe port, about half a league in breadth, with depth of water from ten to six fathoms, according to a chart made on the spot by Captain Jenefer.

Arrive at  
the Coast  
of *Darien*.  
November.

The ships being at anchor without this port, a boat was sent to the mainland, where a white flag had been displayed by the natives, who had remarked the red colours worn by the ships, and took them to be English. When the boat arrived at the shore, the natives enquired upon what business the ships had come there, to which, answer was returned that they were come with design to make a settlement among the *Darien* people, and to be their friends. The natives said, if they came with that intent, they should be welcome.

The *Darien* Indians were at this time at variance with the Spaniards on account of some gold mines which themselves had lately discovered in their own country, which the Spaniards had taken possession of, and were working; and some lives had been lost in the quarrel.

On the 4th, the ships anchored within the Islands, and a deputation went to visit the native Chief of this part of the

3 A 2

*Isthmus*,



## PART II.

1698.

*Isthmus*, who was styled Captain Andreas, and was the same person who was chief here in 1680, when the Buccaneers under Coxon, Sawkins, and Harris, marched across the *Isthmus*.

The month of November was occupied in negotiation. Mr. Paterson, and other deputies on the part of the Scotch Company, had frequent meetings with the Chiefs; and at length terms were agreed upon for a Settlement being made. On the 30th, Captain Andreas went on board the *St. Andrew*. What passed is related by one of the Colonists as follows, and was published whilst the Colony was in existence.

Convention  
made with  
the Darien  
Chiefs.

‘ November the 30th, Captain Andreas went on board the  
‘ *St. Andrew*. We had suspicions that he held correspondence  
‘ with the Spaniards. We taxed him with it, and he ingenu-  
‘ ously confessed that the Spaniards had been friendly to him,  
‘ and had made him a captain; that he was obliged for his  
‘ safety to keep fair with them. That they had assured him  
‘ we were nothing but privateers who had no design to settle,  
‘ and who meant to plunder both Spaniards and Indians and  
‘ to be gone in two or three months, as other privateers are used  
‘ to do. He said, if that was the case and he assisted us in any  
‘ manner, as soon as we should be gone they would seek to  
‘ destroy him and his. We gave him all possible assurances to  
‘ the contrary, so that he was fully satisfied, and desired we  
‘ would give him a commission and receive him and his people  
‘ into our protection, and he would give us all his right to his  
‘ part of the country. Whereupon a commission was ordered  
‘ for Captain Andreas, and being read and approved of, it was  
‘ rendered verbatim to him in Spanish; he agreed to every  
‘ article before seven or eight of his own people and several of  
‘ ours: it was then delivered to him, with a broad basket-  
‘ hilted sword and a brace of pistols, with which he solemnly  
‘ promised to defend us against all our enemies\*.’ This account  
should

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\* Letter, giving a Description of the *Isthmus of Darien*, from a Gentleman who lives there at present. Edinburgh, 1699, p. 23, 24.

should have been accompanied with the words' of the commission given to the Darien Chief; but whatever they were, the equitable construction of the agreement must accord with what was manifestly understood by the natives, who appear to have intended that the Colonists should be at liberty to occupy and possess any part of the country convenient to their present purpose, which was not in any manner occupied by themselves; and that they the Dariens would hold themselves attached to the British cause in all matters respecting war or peace. In return for this was to be given, protection against the attacks of all other powers, and especially against the Spaniards.

CHAP. 4.  
1698.

The agreement being formally concluded, the Colonists chose a projecting point of the mainland at a part called *Acla* or *Acta*, which is nearly opposite to *Golden Island*, as a convenient and defensible situation for building a fort and town upon. A district or portion of the adjacent country they named *Caledonia*; and the town itself *New Edinburgh*. They erected works for its defence, and planted cannon. The Colonists also began with alacrity to clear land for cultivation. In a short time after the landing, a Settler writes, 'we are now planting tobacco for trade.' Another writes, 'as we grow stronger we shall endeavour to procure a port on the *Sauth Sea*, whence it is not above six weeks sail to *Japan* and *China* \*.' A Journal of the *New Caledonia Expedition* has the following description: 'The harbour of *New Edinburgh* is excellent, and large enough to contain 500 sail of ships. There is a point of a peninsula at the mouth of the harbour that may be fortified against any naval force. The soil of the land is rich, the air temperate, the water sweet. In the harbour and creeks are turtle, manatee, and a vast variety of fish. The land affords wild deer, hogs, and other animals, and as a proof of its fertility, here are legions of monstrous plants reducible to no tribe, and enough to confound all the methods

Town of  
New  
Edinburgh  
built.

' in

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\* *History of Caledonia, or the Scots Colony in Darien.* London, 1699.

PART II. ' in botany. We have already had Dutch, French, and  
 1698. ' English all at the same time in our harbour, and all of them  
 ' wondering what the rest of the world have been thinking on  
 ' whilst we came hither to the best harbour in *America*, in the  
 ' best part of *America*. And here is enough within our bounds,  
 ' if it were all cultivated, to afford 100,000 hogsheads of sugar  
 ' every year\*.'

The Darien Indians wished the Colony to make war upon the Spaniards of *Portobello*, which of course could not be complied with. Many slaves had at different times escaped from their Spanish masters, and for mutual security, they kept together, to the amount of many hundreds. The Governor of *Portobello*, being apprehensive that they would join with the Darien Indians, and perhaps with the Caledonian Colony, entered into treaty, and made peace with them, acknowledging them free and independent, and calling them friends†. The jealousy entertained by the Spaniards of the new Settlement, as well as the disposition of the Darien people to quarrel with the Spaniards, produced some skirmishes when in their excursions the natives or the Colonists chanced to meet the Spaniards.

1699. On intelligence being received in *Scotland*, that the Settlement was actually formed, numbers of people offered to engage with the Company, and many were accepted and embarked, to strengthen the Settlement. In May 1699, the King of Spain's ambassador in *London*, presented a Memorial to the King of *England*, setting forth, that the Colony of *Darien* was within the domains of the King of *Spain*, and that the establishing it, was therefore an act of hostility. King William the III<sup>d</sup>, with all his displeasure against the Colony, would not condescend to acknowledge a right in *Spain* to the whole *Isthmus of America*, although the settlement of the Spanish succession was then in agitation,

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\* *Miscellanea Curiosa*. London, 1727, Vol. III, p. 413, being part of a Journal communicated to the Royal Society, by Dr. Wallace.

† *Letter, giving a Description, &c.*

agitation, which inclined him to keep on good terms with the King of *Spain*. Moved however by the last-mentioned consideration, and in part no doubt by his ill will to the Colony, he sent orders to the Governors of the British West-India Islands, not to give support or countenance of any kind to the Scotch at *Darien*, and to issue proclamations requiring his Majesty's subjects in the plantations not to hold correspondence with the people of the said Colony of *Darien*, nor to assist them with arms or provisions.

CHAP. 4.  
1699.

It was to be expected, that in consequence of such orders, the Spaniards would have recourse to force to drive the Scotch from their Settlement. A general council was held by the Company, and they drew up Petitions to King William, and to their own Parliament. They represented the hardships put upon them to be a direct invasion of the privileges granted to the Company, and repugnant to the terms and express words of their Charter, 'wherein his Majesty solemnly promiseth, *If any of the Ships, Goods, Merchandise, Persons, or other Effects whatsoever, belonging to the Scots Company, trading to Africa and the Indies, shall be stopped, detained, embezzled, or taken away, or in any sort prejudiced or damnified; that he will interpose his authority to have Restitution, Reparation, and Satisfaction made for the damage done, and that upon the public charge.*'

The Parliament of *Scotland* likewise addressed the King in behalf of the Company, and against the Spanish claims, and the arguments produced in this Address are remarkable and well worthy notice. 'The Province of *Darien*,' they said, 'was no part of the domains of the King of *Spain*, either by inheritance, marriage, donation, purchase, conquest, or possession. Discovery without occupation could not constitute a perpetual right. *Darien* moreover was an inhabited country, and the *Darien* Indians were an independent People.' Thus far their argument was general. Concerning the peculiar claims  
of

PART II.  
1699.

of the Company, they set forth that they derived their territorial right from the gift of the Prince, or Chief; and hereon they adduced a curious but rather ludicrous precedent, which however does not affect their other reasoning, to wit, that the Rights of Sovereignty of the native Chief had been acknowledged by the Courts of Law in *England*, inasmuch as in the time of Charles the II<sup>d</sup>, when Captain Bartholomew Sharp was brought to trial for attacking Spanish places on the *Isthmus of Darien* in a time of profound peace between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, he was acquitted because he acted by virtue of a commission from the Darien Princes\*.

A Pamphlet published at this time contended that the extent, and limitation, of the Rights of *Spain* in *America* had been established by convention: that by the Treaty of 1670 between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, ‘ the Right and Dominion of the  
‘ King of Spain in those Countries, Islands, Provinces, and  
‘ Territories, whereof he was possessed, and so far as they  
‘ were in the actual occupation of the Spaniards, was con-  
‘ fessed, and provision made for their quiet and peaceable  
‘ enjoyment of them. And there was likewise a formal and  
‘ explicit renunciation of all claim made by the Spaniards, to  
‘ whatsoever was in the English possession. But not one word  
‘ or syllable was so much as once mentioned in that whole  
‘ treaty, concerning and relative to such parts and places as  
‘ were not at that season in the occupation of the one or of  
‘ the other†.’

All the representations and remonstrances made procured no favour for the Colony, and in consequence of the Proclamations issued in the West-India Islands prohibiting all intercourse with it, the shares in the Company’s stock fell in the public estimation;

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\* *Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Colony at Darien.* Glasgow, 1700.

† *Just and modest Vindication of the Scots Design in establishing a Colony at Darien.* Printed in 1699.

tion; no farther support was derived from new subscriptions, whilst a considerable part of the old remained unpaid. In addition to their distresses, the Company were defrauded by some of their agents, and the demands of the Colony being ill supplied, many of the settlers were discouraged and withdrew to other parts of the *West Indies*. Among the unfortunate circumstances attending the Colony, is to be reckoned the loss of their friend Captain Andreas, the Darien Chief, who having drunk too freely at an entertainment given him on board the ship *Saint Andrew*, fell from her deck into the hold, which fall occasioned his death.

CHAP. 4.

In February 1700, the English House of Lords presented an Address to the King, in which they complained that the Settlement of the Scots Colony at *Darien* was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade of *England*. The Parliament of *Scotland* shewed their resentment at this Address of the English Lords, by a Declaration in the following words.

‘ Resolved, that the proceedings of the Parliament of *England* in relation to an Act of this Parliament establishing our India and African Company. and the Address of the House of Lords presented in February last (1700) are an undue intermeddling in the affairs of this kingdom, and an invasion upon the independence of our King and Parliament.’

1700.

At this time, however, the object of so much persecution had ceased to exist. The Colony in its weakened state was blockaded by a Spanish force commanded by the Governor of *Carthagera*, and the Colonists, finding themselves cut off from assistance, were reduced to the necessity of demanding as a favour to be allowed without molestation to abandon their Settlement. They embarked with their effects and sailed to *Jamaica*, where, as if with design to make the measure of provocation overflow, the Governor laid an embargo on their ships, and made them suffer a vexatious detention.

New  
Edinburgh  
blockaded  
by the  
Spaniards.The  
Colony re-  
linquished.

In the passage to *England*, Paterson was seized with a frenzy,

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from

PART II.  
1700.

from which he recovered, and drew up a plan for a renewal of the Settlement jointly by *Scotland* and *England*; but after the great loss sustained by the first experiment, few would be found willing soon to contribute to a second.

The anger of the Scotch Nation was chiefly against King William, who as King of *England* had been aiding in bringing distress upon his subjects of *Scotland*, and had abandoned them to the mercy of a foreign power. It was said that the interest he took in the affairs of *Holland* made him apprehensive that the Darien Colony would be detrimental to the interests of the Dutch East India Company. The English East India Company also, were believed to have exerted their influence with the King against the Colony. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (published at *Edinburgh*, 1797) under the Article *Caledonia*, gives the following explanation. ‘Caledonia, New, the name of a  
‘ Settlement made by the Scots on the West side of the gulph  
‘ of *Darien* in 1698; out of which they were starved at the  
‘ request of the East India Company; for the English Govern-  
‘ ment prohibited the other Colonies sending them any pro-  
‘ visions; so they were obliged to leave it in 1700.’

The Darien Colony would probably have produced an increase of the India trade; and in that direction, have opened new sources, so as to have been of much advantage to the public, without detriment, perhaps even with benefit, to the India Company. But in *England*, the dissatisfaction was general at the exemption clause in the Charter of the Company of Scotland; which, it is said, occasioned so great a ferment that petitions and remonstrances went to the king from all parts\*; and this exemption must be regarded as the principal cause of the persecution of the Colony.

If William had assented to the claims of *Spain*, it would have become necessary for him, in correspondence with that  
assent,

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\* *Modern part of Universal History*, Vol. XLI, p. 375.

assent, to have ordered the Darien Colony to withdraw, or rather, in the outset of their undertaking to have prohibited its being proceeded in; but he was not tempted to acknowledge or admit the Spanish claims, for which he is to be commended. The measures which he did pursue, however, were not creditable. He allowed his subjects, against whom no illegal act was charged, to be attacked and driven from their possessions by a foreign power; which was submitting to national insult. It is questionable whether the Executive power of a State is justifiable in withholding from subjects so circumstanced, the general protection of the realm. There is, however, a distinction to be noticed in this case. It was before the Union of *Scotland* with *England*, and William was placed in a twofold capacity. As King of *England*, he did not afford the protection of *England* to the oppressed subjects of another State, of which he was also King.

Many individuals in *Scotland* were ruined or reduced to poverty by the fall of the Darien Colony, and the complaints made against the part the King had taken were expressed with much asperity. An author already quoted, writing when the Colony was only on the decline, says, ‘ Neither can it be indecent or immodest to add, that the protecting the Company of *Scotland* in this undertaking is the rather expected from his Majesty, lest otherwise they should have occasion to complain of the prejudice they have received by the Revolution with respect to their trade; it being known that a proposal and plan having by some Scotsmen been laid before King James, for obtaining his authority for settling a commerce in *Africa* and the *Indies*, how kindly he received it, and referred it to consideration, that upon report of the justice and equity of it, he might by his Royal Charter and Patent have empowered the Scots to have proceeded in the establishment of it: and which nothing could have obstructed, had

3 B 2

‘ not



PART II. 'not the accession of his present Majesty, who was then Prince  
' of Orange, into *England*, at that time intervened\*.'

*Spain* was not the only European nation by whom the Scotch Settlement at *Darien* was regarded with jealousy, though she was the only one who had rational ground for such a feeling. The author of the History given of *America* in the *Modern Part of Universal History*, who was adverse to the Company of *Scotland*, but wrote without taking much pains to inform himself of the facts, in consequence of which he has made some erroneous statements, says, that the Dutch were alarmed, that *France* offered a fleet for dislodging the Colony, and finally gives his own opinion, that the united interest of all *Europe* required the Settlement being crushed.

Du Casse, the French Governor at *Hispaniola*, was at the pains of employing emissaries to stir up the natives of *Darien* against the Settlement. This was guarding against a very remote chance of injury: it is difficult indeed to conceive probabilities which could have made the *Darien Colony* hurtful to *France*. A monopolising spirit, as it is apt to be tinctured with envy, so it seldom entertains regard for general benefit, wherein self has not at least a competent share. To exclude foreign competition has constantly been one of the commercial principles of nations, blindly adhered to in instances where it is evident that by admitting participators, the share of benefit to each would be increased to more than the whole was before. There was sufficient space not occupied by *Spain*, on the *Isthmus of America*, to accommodate every European maritime nation with separate establishments, if they had desired to attempt a commerce that way to *China* and *India*. The *Gulf de San Miguel*, which runs into the *Bay of Panama*, would have furnished harbours on that side; and if hope could have been entertained of their not endeavouring to ruin each other, it would probably have been to the benefit not only of the whole, but

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\* *Just and Modest Vindication, &c.*

but of each severally, *Spain* not excepted, if the experiment had been made by many nations, rather than by any single one. *Spain* was the only maritime power possessed of ports on the American coast of the *South Sea*. The whole commerce carried on between *America* and *Asia*, may be said to have been in her hands, and her neglect or abuse of that advantage has been enormous. Sometimes a single annual ship, and at times one ship in two years, with the most jealous preclusion of all others, comprehended, till within a very few years past, the whole of the direct trade between these the two largest quarters of the world, when if it had been left free from restriction, it may reasonably be imagined that long ago many hundreds of vessels would annually have crossed the *Pacific Ocean*.

When the Duc d'Anjou mounted the throne of *Spain*, the French had leave given them to trade to the ports of *Chili* and *Peru*. The number of the French that thronged there, and the riches they acquired, were regarded with astonishment by the Spaniards, and noticed by their writers with symptoms of displeasure. Contrary to the opinion given in the *Modern Universal History*, the interest of all *Europe* required rather, that the nations should have united to free commerce in that part of the world from the state of stagnation in which it had been so long kept by the Spanish regulations, than to crush the *Darien Colony*.

The Scots Company were too much impoverished to engage in any new undertaking of importance during the remainder of the reign of William the III<sup>d</sup>, who died in 1702. The discontent which had arisen in *Scotland* on account of the *Darien Colony*, was much allayed by the attention which his successor gave to the complaints of the sufferers. When, however, the settling the succession to the Crown of *Scotland* in the Protestant line came to be agitated, the Parliament of Scotland declared 'that they would not proceed to the nomination of a successor, until there was a previous treaty settled with  
' *England*

PART II. ‘ *England* for regulating the concerns of commerce with that  
‘ nation.’

The Union of the two Kingdoms took place in 1706, by the 6th Article of which this point was adjusted ; it being therein specified, ‘ *That all parts of the United Kingdom, for ever from and after the Union, shall have the same regulations of trade, and be liable to the same customs and duties on import and export.*’ But as the Scots African and Indian Company by virtue of their charter still possessed a title to claim exemption from payment of customs and duties on their merchandise and effects for the remainder of their term of 21 years from the date of their charter, it was agreed and settled by Article XVth of the Union, First, that *Scotland* as an equivalent for sharing in the burthen of the debts contracted by *England* before the Union, should receive the sum of 398,085 *l.* 10*s.* Secondly, that out of the said sum of 398,085 *l.* 10*s.* should be repaid the capital stock or fund, which had been actually advanced by the subscribers of the African and Indian Company of *Scotland*, together with interest for the said capital stock, at the rate of five *per cent per annum*, from the respective times of the payments thereof. And lastly, that upon such payment of the capital stock and interest, the said Company be dissolved and cease.

Indemnifi-  
cation made  
to the Scots  
Company  
at the  
Union.

By this, which appears an equitable, and certainly was a wise and conciliating arrangement, was accommodated one of the most serious causes of offence which had occurred between *North* and *South Britain* since the accession of King James the first to the Crown of *England*.

## C H A P. V.

*Voyage of M. de Beauchesne Gouin.*

IN imitation of the African and Indian Company of *Scotland*, a Company was formed in *France* for establishing Colonies in the Countries of *South America* not occupied by Europeans. The Directors of this Company, too magnificent in their views and expectations, made their preparations on a scale too large for their means. ‘They provided many ships and engaged many persons, who assembled at *Rochelle*; but the funds of the Company beginning to fail, they were obliged to sell some of the ships to complete the equipment of others.’ The armament in its reduced state consisted of two ships of 50 guns each, named the *Phelippeaux*, and *Maurepas*; a frigate, and a bark of 200 tons. The command of the Expedition was given to M. de Beauchesne Gouin, a Captain of the French Navy.

CHAP. 5.  
1698.

Short abstracts of different journals of this voyage have been given to the public; one, which is of the Commander’s, is inserted by Woodes Rogers in his *History of his own Voyage*\*. An abstract of a journal kept by Le Sieur de Villefort, *Enseigne de Vaisseau* on board the ship of M. de Beauchesne, is given as an article in the *Navigacion aux Terres Australes*, from the original manuscript which was found among the papers of Guillaume de Lisle. Also, in the *Noticia de las Expediciones al Magalhães* is a short narrative extracted from a manuscript in the Royal Library at *Madrid*.

M. de Beauchesne with his small squadron sailed from *France* on the 17th of December, 1698, a season of the year which could not have been determined by choice; and by what accident is not mentioned. In the passage to the coast of *South America*,

December.  
Departure  
from  
France.

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\* *A Cruising Voyage round the World*, p. 117 & seq. 2d Edit. London. 1718.

**PART II.** *America*, the two smallest ships parted company from the others, and did not pursue the voyage.

1699.

June.

In the Bay  
d'Esperlans.

The 9th of June 1699, the *Phelippeaux*, De Beauchesne's ship, and the *Maurepas*, commanded by M. de Terville, anchored in *Spiring Bay* (*Bay d'Esperlans*) near the entrance of *Port Desire*.

They found the country here dry, barren, rugged, without wood, and without fresh water except a little that was found in a valley, the situation of which is not noted. De Villefort relates that in the stomach of a sea-lion were flint stones (*cailloux*) as large as a man's fist, which the animal had begun to digest. 'This is contrary to Wafer's remark respecting ostriches, 'who swallow nails or stones,' he says, 'not as food, but to aid 'the digestion of other things, serving as millstones or grinders 'to macerate the food in their maw: and they pass through 'the body as whole as they went in.'

In the  
Strait of  
Magalhães.

The two ships proceeded Southward. On the 24th of June, which is the mid-time of the Southern winter, they arrived at the *Strait of Magalhães*; they anchored in *Boucault Bay*, at the *Penguin Islands*, and on July the 3d, in *Port Famine*.

Port  
Famine.

Natives.

On the shore of the *Tierra del Fuego* opposite, large fires were seen, and the same being continued three successive days, it was supposed they were intended by the natives as signals of invitation; which induced M. de Beauchesne to send a boat to them, though the distance across from *Port Famine* was full five leagues. About forty natives of both sexes were found there: they allowed themselves to be approached without difficulty, and when the boat was about to depart, three of them voluntarily went in her to the ship. They appeared to suffer much from the cold. Food of the ship's provision was set before them; but it being different from what they had been used to, they did not eat much. On the day following, the boat went back with them to the *Tierra del Fuego* shore. In the way, one of the French seamen fell overboard, and was drowned.

drowned. This accident caused much consternation, but infinitely more to the three Patagonians than to the crew of the boat. They set themselves to howling, and could not be pacified or be made to cease their noise, till they found themselves safe on dry land.

CHAP. 5.  
1699.  
In the  
Strait of  
Magalhães.

Other natives were afterwards seen in *Elizabeth Bay*, where the ships lay some time at anchor, and being treated with kindness by M. de Beauchesne, they were rendered quite familiar. If they wished to come on board at any time, they called out from the nearest part of the shore, and a boat went to fetch them. When on board, they were fed and gratified with small presents of cutlery, and when they desired, were sent on shore again.

At  
Elizabeth  
Bay.

Near the East point of *Elizabeth Bay* [*Point Passage*] a shoal or bank was remarked on which the depth of water was 2½ fathoms. It was covered with large sea-weeds.

Shoal  
near it.

M. de Beauchesne gave names to many places in the *Strait*, some of which had been named before. The land opposite to *Elizabeth Bay* was found to be an Island separate from the *Tierra del Fuego*, and seven or eight leagues in circuit. In Narbrough's chart, it is not drawn separate: but is made so in all the late charts. De Beauchesne took possession of it in the name of the French King, and named it after him *Isle de Louis le Grand*: in the Spanish chart it is named *I. de Carlos III.* Two harbours in this Island Beauchesne named *Dauphine Bay*, and *Port Phelippeaux*. The Eastern of the two, *Dauphine Bay*, runs a league deep into the land. In the middle of it is a shoal bank, easy to be known by its being covered with weeds: there is good passage on each side of the shoal\*. *Port Phelippeaux* is also a very convenient harbour. A harbour in the *Tierra del Fuego* opposite the above Island, was named *Port Nativité*.

Island  
Louis  
le Grand.  
Dauphine  
Bay.

Port Phe-  
lippeaux.

The

\* *Navigation aux Terres Australes*, Vol. II. p. 117.

**PART II.**  
1699.  
In the  
Strait of  
Magalhães.

The remarks of M. de Villefort are those of an inexperienced young man, who however, appears to have had more diligence than any of his fellow voyagers. The winter was remarkably mild; the trees were green, and the branches loaded with paroquets; but the winds were so constantly from the Westward, that they were prevented from making their passage through the *Strait* the remainder of the winter, and all the following spring. It is said in the *Noticias*, that they came to an anchor, and got under sail again, in the *Strait*, not fewer than eighty times, before they could get clear into the *South Sea*.

September.

September the 21st, Villefort relates, that they anchored 'at the entrance of the *River Galante*, near to the *Strait of St. Jerome*.' It is doubtful whether the river here meant is *Batchelor's River* or a river at *Port Galant*. De Villefort says, 'we new named it, calling it *Riviere du Massacre*, on account of a quarrel which had formerly happened here between some *Flibustiers* and the natives.'

River  
named  
DuMassacre.

De Beauchesne left letters at different places in the *Strait*, containing directions for the frigate and store ship, which he expected would follow him. The shores on both sides of the *Strait* were inhabited, but not by people of the same nation. Those who lived in the Eastern parts were called *Laguediche*; and a people called *Haveguediche*, who were the most numerous, inhabited Westward. Their stature is not noticed. They were at enmity against each other, and it is remarked that their language did not sound difficult; but they spoke much from the throat.

Two  
distinct  
Tribes.

The  
Country.

'The woodlands in the *Strait* on the continental side are from *Elizabeth Island* to within 15 leagues of *Cape Victoria*. On the *Tierra del Fuego* side, they extend from the *Canal de San Sebastian* to *Cape Pilaes*.' Fish were more abundant in the Western than in the Eastern part of the *Strait*. Among the shell-fish were large muscles, 'one of which with its shell weighed  
' 29 ounces.

‘ 29 ounces. The beautiful muscle-shells are first met with  
‘ about a league beyond *Cape Holland*.’

CHAP. 5.

1699.

In the  
Strait of  
Magalhães.

The mildness of the season in the *Strait* this year, caused M. de Beauchesne to remark that the climate seemed to be as temperate as in *France*, and to be of opinion that a Settlement might be made conveniently there. The soil of *Elizabeth Island* appeared proper for cattle and the growth of corn.

De Villefort speaks of a *Cape Gate*, near which was admirable holding ground; and of a port in the *Tierra del Fuego*, opposite to *Cape Gate*, which they named *Port Vanolles*. Here, the large muscles were found. The name of *Cape Gate* is not seen in any chart of the *Strait*, and it is supposed that de Villefort intended by it *Cape Quad*. Of the tides he says, ‘ throughout the *Strait* from one sea to the other, when the tide rises the flood runs Westward; and when it falls the ebb runs to the East.’ This differs from the statements of other Navigators, which say that in the Western part of the *Strait* the flood comes from the West\*, which no doubt is the fact. All accounts agree that the rise and fall is greater, and the stream more rapid, in the Eastern than in the other parts of the *Strait*. Near *Cape Froward*, the current has been scarcely perceptible, and the rise and fall observed to be not more than four feet. At the Eastern entrance, the rise and fall has been found five fathoms†.

is supposed  
to be  
Cape Quad.

Tides.

During the month of October there was much rain, before which, snow and hail only had fallen. At one time in this month they obtained sight of the *South Sea*, but were afterwards driven back to *Port Phelippeaux*. There they held council, and it was put to the vote, whether they should continue their endeavours to pass through the *Strait*, or quit it and try to make their passage round *Cape Horn*. The first was for the present determined on; but the winds continuing to oppose them,

October.

\* See Vol. III, p. 356.

† *Derrotero del Estrecho*, p. 105, in *Relacion del Ultimo Viage*.



- PART II.** them, on December the 20th, they bore up to the Eastward,  
 1699. with the intention to sail to *Strait le Maire*. They had pro-  
 December. ceeded Eastward as far as to *Port Famine*, when a change of  
 wind encouraged them to resume their first intention. The  
 wind did not long continue favourable, but they now persisted  
 1700. in the attempt to get Westward, and, January the 21st, 1700,  
 January. they entered the *South Sea*, after nearly seven months spent in  
 In the a most fatiguing and harassing navigation in the *Strait*.  
 South Sea.  
 February February the 4th, they came in sight of an Island near the  
 4th. coast of *Chili*, four or five leagues in length, and about that dis-  
 tance from the Continent, which was supposed to be *Nuestra*  
*Señora del Socorro*. M. de Beauchesne says, they went to view  
 Harbour of the harbour of *San Domingo*, which is the Spanish frontier\*.  
 San Neither of this Island *del Socorro*, nor of the *San Domingo Har-*  
 Domingo. bour, is the latitude given. They anchored on the East side  
 of an Island, from whence four other Islands were seen. From  
 this part of the coast of *Chili*, they proceeded to *Baldivia*, where  
 the Spaniards, taking them for Buccaneers, refused them admit-  
 tance, and the forts fired at the ships, by which some of their  
 men were killed. At other places along the coast they met  
 At Arica. with nothing but rebuffs, till they came to *Arica*, where they  
 had better success, in consequence of some Frenchmen (pro-  
 bably old *Flibustiers*) having settled there.

At all the ports of *Peru* and *Chili*, commerce with strangers had been strictly prohibited, and *Arica* was thought too public a situation for carrying on a contraband trade; for which reason, after selling goods there to the amount of 50,000 crowns, the ships, by the advice of their friends on shore, went to *Ylo*, which is a few leagues to the Northward of *Arica*, and a more retired place. When there, a number of merchants (both natives and Spaniards) came and bought all they had of value 'at good rates.' M. de Beauchesne acknowledges that the cloth he had on board was half rotten; some of the Spanish  
 merchants

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\* *Cruising Voyage round the World*, p. 119.

merchants were vexed, and expressed resentment, but others were glad to buy all, to the very rags they had on board, and sold them provisions, though it was forbidden on pain of death; but the Spanish officers of customs connived at it.

CHAP. 5.

1700.

The inhabitants of this part of the coast, made use of skins, sewed in the shape of a pipe or tunnel, and filled with wind, to serve them instead of boats. When out of the water, they folded up like cloths. When in the water, two were fastened together, parallel to each other, and a seat placed across them. With a float or balsa similar to the one here described, the Spaniards attempted to set fire to a buccaneer ship at *La Serena*.

Balsa of  
Arequipa.

After four months continuance on the coast of *Chili* and *Peru*, M. de Beauchesne sailed for the *Galapagos* Islands, and anchored at one of them on the 7th of June. They furnished themselves with turtle of both kinds, and took fish with the line; but found no fresh water. De Villefort says, 'The earth of this Island, if earth may be called that on which is no soil, is extremely burnt and split into precipices and abysses, and appears like black metallic rocks overturned by subterranean fires. It is dangerous walking on them, for they tremble on all sides. Our boat found a good port sheltered by a small Island, the entrance of which is to the West. We found the remains of materials for the repair of ships, by which we knew it to be the *Isle à Tabac*, where the English Buccaneers had used to careen. The *Isle de Santé* where we anchored on June the 10th, is 20 leagues from *Isle à Tabac*, and is also burnt up. The trees there are extremely dry, except near the border of the sea, where was some verdure. At a league distance from a Bay at the NW part of *Santé*, I found a small spring of fresh water, the only one met with. The *Isle Mascarin*, to which we afterwards went, in 1° 12' South latitude, was no better than the others.' There can be no certainty which of the Islands in the chart of the *Galapagos* were intended in the foregoing description.

June.  
At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.Isle  
à Tabac.  
I. de Santé.

I. Mascarin.

From

## PART II.

1700.

From the *Galapagos* they returned to the Continent, finding in the passage much Westwardly current. They remained on the coast of *Peru* and *Chili* till near the end of the year, and procured supplies of provisions, notwithstanding the orders.

1701.  
January.

Leaving the coast of *Chili*, M. de Beauchesne sailed Southward, for the *Strait of Magalhães*; but missing the West entrance, he continued his course Southward to pass round *Cape Horn*. For his guidance he took Le Maire and Schouten's latitude of *Cape Horn*, which is nearly two degrees South of the truth\*. On the 13th of January, their latitude was  $57^{\circ} 17'$ , and they sailed Eastward, thinking it impossible on that course that they should pass the Cape, supposed by them to be in  $57^{\circ} 50' S$ . Under this impression, they ran far East before they suspected themselves to be mistaken: at length to ascertain the matter, they altered the course to the North.

An Island  
discovered;

The following is from M. de Brosse's extract of De Villefort's Journal. 'The wind carried us to the North. On the 19th, we perceived to the NW at eight leagues distance, an unknown Island not marked in any chart. It is in latitude about  $52^{\circ} 50' S$ , and about 60 leagues to the East of the *Tierra del*

Is named  
Beauchesne.

*Fuego*. We named it *Isle Beauchesne*. It is in circuit five or six leagues; it is moderately high, and at three leagues to the East of it, appeared level (*assez unie*.) Soundings were obtained at 80 fathoms depth, white shells. The *Sebald Isles* were seen the next day, on the East side of which

John Davis's  
South Land.

we anchored in 24 fathoms, in latitude  $51^{\circ} 32' S$ . But this appears to us only one long Island which hides the other two.' The position of the *Sebald Isles* had been described three in number lying triangular-wise, which gave rise to De Villefort's concluding remark.

Captain Woodes Rogers gives the following relation of this discovery from M. de Beauchesne's Journal. 'On the 19th of January 1701, he discovered a small Island about  
' three

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\* See Vol. II. p. 371.

‘ three or four leagues in circuit, in latitude 52 degrees odd  
 ‘ minutes, not marked in our charts, with strong currents  
 ‘ near it. And on the 20th, he came to the Isle of *Sebald de*  
 ‘ *Wert*, which is marshy land, with rocky mountains and no  
 ‘ trees.’

CHAP. 5.  
 1701.

The place where M. de Beauchesne anchored on the 20th, was at the South Eastern part of *John Davis's South Land*, or, as it is here called, the *Sebald de Wert*; and it appears from both the Journals, that De Beauchesne's discovery (named after him) was a single Island. M. de Lisle, and also the Missionary, Pere Nyel, in a chart drawn in 1705, and published with the Missionary Letters, have marked *Beauchesne* a single Island. In all the late charts, however, De Beauchesne's discovery is marked as two Islands; which alteration seems to have originated with Frezier, who in a chart he made of the *Southern extremity of America*, described the track of a ship (the *Saint Louis*, in 1706) passing near to *I. Beauchesne*, there laid down as two Islands, one extending North and South, four leagues in length; the other a smaller Island within a league of the former. [See *Voyage de la Mer du Sud. Par M. Frezier*. Planche xxxii.] M. Frezier has not added any remark respecting the track of the *Saint Louis* which might explain the alteration made by him in Beauchesne's discovery. His representation nevertheless has been generally copied.

Beauchesne's  
 represented  
 as two  
 Islands by  
 Frezier.

At the *Sebaldines*, or *Davis's South Land*, De Beauchesne found fresh water, celery, geese, bustards, and teal. He praises the soil; but there was no wood, which was an article they much wanted. They touched at *Brasil*, where the Portuguese supplied them with provisions; and on the 6th of August, 1701, they arrived at the *Port of Rochelle*, after an absence of thirty-two months.

## C H A P. VI.

*Voyage to the South Atlantic Ocean, by Dr. Edmund Halley.*

## PART II.

**B**ETWEEN November 1698 and June 1700, Dr. Edmund Halley, in two Voyages to the Southern *Atlantic*, made his celebrated attempt to discover the laws by which the Variation of the magnetic needle is governed.

As this was an object of great public interest, and undertaken at the recommendation of the Royal Society, Dr. Halley was accommodated with one of the King's ships, a Pink named the *Paramour*, and though he was not bred up in the Navy, nor to the profession of a mariner, that his plans might not suffer obstruction from any wilfulness or caprice of other persons, he was himself appointed to command her.

1698.  
October.

The *Paramour* sailed from Deptford October the 20th, 1698. In going down channel, she proved so leaky that it was necessary to have her hull examined, for which purpose she put in at *Portsmouth*, where she was taken into dock. The Variation in *Portsmouth Harbour* was then 7° West.

November.

November the 22d, the ship went out of the harbour, and anchored in *St. Helen's Road* at the East end of the *Isle of Wight*. Admiral Bembow's flag was flying there, which the *Paramour* saluted with five guns; and the Admiral, to mark his respect for Dr. Halley, returned the salute with the same number of guns. Respect for science, however, did not operate sufficiently strong on the Officers of Dr. or rather Captain, Halley's ship, to prevent their taking offence at being put under the command of a man who had risen without going through the regular course of service in the Royal Navy; and this proved to be the occasion of his making two voyages, instead of concluding his experiments

ments in a single voyage. The 29th, the *Paramour* sailed from *St. Helens*. Dr. Halley's Journal of his navigation in the *Atlantic*, was published by Mr. Dalrymple from the original manuscript, in a *Collection of Voyages to the Southern Atlantic*. London, 1775. CHAP. 6.

The first part of Dr. Halley's track was to the *Cape de Verde Islands*. January the 17th, they were not far by the reckoning from the Island *Fernando Loronho*, which Dr. Halley was desirous to make. He says, 'January the 18th, 1699, this morning between two and three o'clock, looking out, I found that my Boatswain who had the watch, steered away NW, instead of West, I conclude with design to miss the Island and frustrate my intent, though they pretended the candle was out in the Binacle and that they could not light it.' At another time, on making the Island *Barbadoes*, he says, 'my Lieutenant having the watch, clapt upon a wind, pretending we ought to go to windward of the Island. He persisted in this course, which was contrary to my orders given over night, and to all sense and reason, till I came upon deck; when he was so far from excusing it, that he pretended to justify it, not without reflecting language. I commanded to bear away NW and NWbN, and before 11, we came to an anchor in *Carlisle Bay*.' This passed in April 1699. Afterwards, but within the course of the same month, being at *Antigua*, he says, 'I was unwilling to wait here any longer, finding it absolutely necessary to change some of my officers, which I found I could not do without returning to *England*.' He sailed accordingly for *England*.

1699.  
January.

April.

Dr. Halley departed on his second voyage in September, 1699. November the 16th, he crossed the equinoctial line. In the course of many traverses made by him in a high Southern latitude, he observed indications at different times of

**PART II.** being near to land; as appear in the following extracts from his Journal:—

1700.  
January. ' January (1700) Saturday the 20th, latitude by good obser-  
Indications of being ' vation  $43^{\circ} 12'$  S. longitude  $49^{\circ} 32'$  W from *London*. 'The  
near Land. ' colour of the sea is changed to a pale green.'

Lat.  $44^{\circ}$  S. ' Sunday the 21st, latitude  $44^{\circ} 22'$  S. longitude  $49^{\circ} 29'$  W.  
Long.  $49\frac{1}{2}$  W. ' Last night the sea appeared very white: abundance of small  
' sea-fowl were about us, and several beds of weeds drove by  
' the ship, of which we took up some for a sample, being of a  
' kind our people had not seen elsewhere.'

Lat.  $50^{\circ}$  S. ' January the 27th. Latitude  $50^{\circ}$  S. longitude  $43^{\circ}$  W: pen-  
Long.  $43$  W. ' guins were seen.'

Lat.  $44^{\circ}$  S. ' February the 11th. Latitude by account  $43^{\circ} 51'$  S. longi-  
Long.  $26$  W. ' tude  $25^{\circ} 50'$  W. It has been foggy all the morning. Yesterday  
' in the afternoon, we had above twenty alcatrasses about the  
' ship; and this morning, our people saw one of the animals  
' which swim twisting its tail into a bow. I suspect we are near  
' some land or rock by the birds.'

Observations for the ' Dr. Halley calculated his longitude and corrected his  
Longitude at Sea. reckoning from observations of the moon's place in the  
Heavens, not measured with an instrument, but by noting  
the time of contact with some star; and sometimes by com-  
puting only from their near approximation in a favourable  
position, at what time they were on the same meridian. 'The  
longitude of the Island *Trinidad* was determined in the manner  
following:

Situation of ' Thursday April the 11th (1700.) Last night the moon  
the Island ' applied to the *Contigua in facie Tauri* and I got a very good  
*Trinidad*. ' observation, whence I concluded myself  $2^{\circ} 00'$  more to the  
' Westward than by my account. Sunday the 14th, at half past  
' ten in the forenoon, we saw the *Islands*, or rather *Rocks*, of  
' *Martin Vaz*. In the afternoon, we saw the Island of *Trinidad*.

' By

‘ By my observation of the moon on the 11th instant, I allow  
‘ it to be in longitude from *London*  $29^{\circ} 50' W$ ; \* the North  
‘ part in latitude  $20^{\circ} 25' S$ , the South part in  $20^{\circ} 29' S$  at the  
‘ most.’

CHAP. 6.  
1700.

Dr. Halley arrived in the *River Thames* on his return from his second voyage, September the 6th, 1700. In 1701, he published his Map of Magnetic Variations.

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\* In the requisite Tables published by the Board of Longitude (*London*, 1802) the Longitude of *Trinidad Island* is set down  $29^{\circ} 33' W$  of the Meridian of *Greenwich*, which is  $13'$  more West than by the Spanish Observations published.



## C H A P. VII.

*Voyage of Captain William Dampier, in the Roebuck,  
to New Holland, and New Guinea.*

## PART II.

THIS was entirely a Voyage of Discovery, and is to be esteemed one of the very few instances which the early navigations afford of a voyage being undertaken expressly for the acquisition of knowledge, without a prospect to other immediate advantage. In the year 1699, *Great Britain* being at peace with the other maritime powers of *Europe*, King William the III<sup>d</sup> ordered an expedition for the discovery of unknown countries, and for examination of some of the countries before discovered, particularly *New Holland* and *New Guinea*. These countries being more nearly situated to the possessions of the *Hollanders* in *India* than to those of any other European nation, the *Hollanders* had constantly been seeking information respecting them; which consideration, probably, had some influence on the plan of the present undertaking. William Dampier had at this time published two volumes of his *Voyages*, which were such strong recommendations to notice, that the Earl of *Pembroke* who presided at the Admiralty, made choice of him to conduct the expedition. A ship belonging to the Royal Navy, named the *Roebuck*, was ordered to be equipped for the purpose, and to be manned with less than her usual complement of men, that the stores and provisions she carried might hold out the better.

Dampier has written an excellent account of this voyage, under the title of *A Voyage to New Holland*, and no man can make use of more intelligible or less ambiguous language; accordingly his own account is here given, curtailing some parts of his voyage which do not belong to the History  
of

of *South Sea Navigations*, and (where it has been thought CHAP 7. allowable) abridging some of his descriptions.

*Captain William Dampier's Narrative of his Voyage in  
the Roebuck.*

‘ I SAILED from the Downs early on Saturday, January the 14th, 1699, in his Majesty’s ship Roebuck, carrying but 12 guns in this voyage, and 50 men and boys, with twenty months provisions.’ 1699.  
January.

‘ On Sunday the 29th, in the afternoon, we made the *Island Teneriffe*, where I intended to take wine and brandy. On the 30th, I came to an anchor in the road of *Santa Cruz*, which I chose as a better harbour than *Oratavia*, especially at this time of the year, and better furnished with the sort of wine I wanted. There I anchored in 33 fathoms water, black slimy ground, about half a mile from the shore.’

‘ This road lies so open to the East, that winds from that side make a great swell and had going ashore in boats. The ships are then often forced to put to sea, and sometimes to cut or slip their cables. The best landing is in a sandy cove about a mile to the NE of the road, where is good water. The other port, *Oratavia*, is worse for Westerly than this is for Easterly winds.’ Road of  
Santa Cruz.

‘ The true Malmesey wine grows in this Island, and is said to be the best of its kind in the world. Here is also *Canary* wine, and *Verdona*, or green wine. The *Verdona* is a strong bodied wine, harsher and sharper than *Canary*, and will keep best in hot countries, for which reason I landed here to take some. Fowls and eatables are dear on *Teneriffe* and the trading Islands, but plentiful and cheap on the others, as *Forteventura* for fowls, and *Gomera* for deer; wherefore it is best for ships who design to take in but little wine, to touch at this last, where also they may be supplied with wine enough, and cheap.’ Wines.

‘ February

## PART II.

1699.

February.

‘ February the 4th, we sailed from *Santa Cruz*, being obliged to hasten out all we could, because the wind had come from NE, which made a great sea ; and I was glad to get out though we left behind us several goods we had bought and paid for.’

Mayo.

‘ The 11th, we anchored in the road of the *Island Mayo*, and found here the Newport of *London*. Her Captain was very glad to see one of the King’s ships, being much afraid of pirates, which of late years had much infested the *Cape de Verd Islands*. On the West side of the Island, where the road for ships is, there is a large sandy bay, and a sand bank of about 40 paces

Salt Pond.

wide within it, within which there is a large *salina*, or salt-pond, about two miles in length, and half a mile wide, but above one half is commonly dry. The English drive here a great trade for salt. I have been informed that in some years not less than 100 of our vessels have been here to take salt. It costs nothing but men’s labour to rake it together, and wheel it out of the pond, except the carriage, which is very cheap, as the inhabitants have plenty of asses. At the landing-place there

Frape Boat.

lies a *Frape* boat, as our seamen call it, built purposely to take off the salt, being so fitted as to keep the waves from dashing into the boat, for here commonly runs a great sea.’

‘ The inhabitants of this Island, even to their Governor, and *padres*, are all negroes, wool-pated like their African neighbours ; but being subjects to the Portuguese, they have their religion and language. They are lusty and well limbed, both men and women. I was told by one of the *padres*, that on the Island were about 230 souls in all. The Governor is a very civil and sensible poor man : he expects a small present from every commander of a vessel that lades salt here, and is glad to be invited on board their ships. The houses here are built with fig-tree wood, which I was told was the only tree they have, fit to build with.’

‘ The pirates who have of late infested these Islands, have much lessened the quantity of live stock, and they have not spared

spared the inhabitants themselves. This Governor of *Mayo* was but newly returned from being a prisoner among them, they having taken him away and carried him about with them for a year or two. The sea here is plentifully stocked with fish. I took on board seven or eight tons of salt for my voyage.'

CHAP. 7.  
1699.  
February.

'The 19th, at one in the morning, I weighed from *Mayo* Road, and stood for *St. Jago*, in order to water, the water at *Mayo* being brackish. We passed *Port Praya*, because I expected to get better water on the SW side of the Island. In the afternoon we came to an anchor in the road of the town of *St. Jago*.'

'I trucked here some of the salt which I brought from *Mayo*, for fowls and maize. This is the effect of the inhabitants keeping no boats of their own, so that they are glad to buy even their own salt of foreigners.'

*St. Jago.*

'*St. Jago Road* is one of the worst I have been in. There is not clean ground enough for above three ships, and those must lie very near to each other. I should not have come here if I had not been told it was a secure place.'

Road of  
the Town of  
*St. Jago.*

'We sailed from *St. Jago* on the 22d. I thought it requisite to touch once more at some cultivated place in these seas where my men might be refreshed and furnish themselves with necessities; for designing that my next stretch should be quite to *New Holland*, and knowing that nothing was to be expected there but fresh water, I resolved on putting in first at some port in *Brasil*. March the 25th, we anchored in the harbour of *Bahia de todos los Santos*. I found here above 30 large ships from *Europe*, with two of the King of Portugal's ships of war, and two ships that traded to *Africa*, and abundance of small craft.'

*Brasil.*

'The Governor who resides here is called Don John de Lancasterio, being descended, they say, from our English Lancaster family, and he has a respect for our nation on that account, calling

PART II. calling them his countrymen. I waited on him several times,  
1699. and always found him courteous.'

' All the tradesmen here buy negroes, and train them up to their own several employments, which is a great help to them. They have here a very dexterous method of killing bullocks, striking them at one blow with a sharp pointed knife in the nape of the neck, having first drawn them close to a rail.'

' My stay at *Bahia* was about a month. In April the Southerly winds make their entrance on this coast, bringing in the wet season, with violent tornadoes.'

April. ' The 23d of April in the morning, having a fine land breeze, and the tide of flood being spent, we sailed out of *Bahia*.'

' May the 3d, in latitude 20° S, we caught three small sharks, and the next day three more, all which we eat, esteeming them good fish, being boiled and pressed and then stewed with vinegar and pepper. We had the wind Easterly and stood to the Southward, till we were in 31° 10' S, and began to meet with Westerly winds, which did not leave us till a little before we made the *Cape of Good Hope*. We met nothing of moment, except that we passed a dead whale, and saw millions, I may say, of sea fowls about the carcass and as far round it as we could see.'

The Petrel. ' The Petrel is a bird not much unlike a swallow, but smaller and with a shorter tail. It is all over black except a white spot on the rump: they fly sweeping like swallows and very near the water. They are not often seen in fair weather. Our seamen call them foul-weather birds, presaging a storm, and for that reason do not love to see them. In a storm they will hover close under a ship's stern, in the wake or smoothness which the ship's passing has made on the sea; and there as they fly (gently) they pat the water alternately with their feet as if they walked upon it, though still upon the wing. And from hence, the seamen give them the name of *Petrels*, in allusion to St. Peter's walking upon the lake of *Genesareth*.'

' June

‘ June the 3d, we saw a sail to leeward under English colours. I bore away to speak her, and found her to be the Antelope of *London* in the service of the New East-India Company, bound for the Bay of *Bengal*. Many passengers were on board, going to settle there under Sir Edward Littleton who was going out Chief. They had been in at the *Cape*, and had sailed thence the day before. This afternoon, we saw the *Cape* land. As I did not design to go in at the *Cape*, I was presented from the Antelope with half a mutton, 12 cabbages, 12 pumpkins, 6lb. of butter, and some parsnips, I sending them oatmeal, which they wanted.’

CHAP. 7.

1699.

June.

‘ We had a Westerly wind, and jogged on in company with the Antelope till the next afternoon, when we parted, they steering for the *East Indies*, and we keeping an ESE course for *New Holland*.’

‘ The 19th. Latitude 34° 17' S, Longitude from the *Cape of Good Hope* 39° 24' East, Variation 25° 29' W. We had run above 600 leagues from the *Cape*, having the most part of the time the wind from some point of the West, viz. from the WNW to SbW. It blew hardest when at West, or between the West and SW; but after it veered more Southerly, the foul weather broke up. I observed at other times in these seas, that when the storms at West veered to the Southward, they grew less, and if the wind came to the East of the South, we had still smaller gales, calms, and fair weather.’

19th.

‘ July the 4th, we reckoned ourselves 1100 leagues to the East of the *Cape of Good Hope*. We tried for soundings, but got no ground. As we drew near to the coast of *New Holland*, we frequently saw whales; at about 90 leagues from the land we began to see sea-weeds, all of one sort; at 30 leagues distance, scuttle-bones floating, and in greater quantities as we drew nigher to the land.’

July.

‘ On the 30th, we saw much sea-weed, and a sort of fowl we had not seen in the voyage before. All the other fowls had

30th.

## PART II.

1699.

July.

Western  
Coast of  
New  
Holland.Near the  
Abrolhos.

31st.

left us. These were as big as lapwings, of a grey colour, black about the eyes, with sharp red bills, long wings, tails long and forked like swallows, and they flew about flapping their wings like lapwings. In the afternoon we met a rippling like a current, or the waters of some shoal or overfall; but we were past it before we could sound. We kept on still to the Eastward under easy sail, expecting we were near the land. In the evening we tried for soundings, and got no ground; but at midnight, we sounded again, and had 45 fathoms, coarse sand and small white shells. I hauled up close to the South (the wind being at West) because I thought we were to the South of a shoal called the *Abrolhos*; which, in a draught I had of that coast, is laid down in  $27^{\circ} 28' S$  latitude, stretching about seven leagues into the sea. I had been the day before in latitude  $27^{\circ} 38' S$  by reckoning, and having steered afterwards *EbS* purposely to avoid the shoal, I thought we must have been to the South of it; but now on sounding again at one o'clock in the morning, we had but 25 fathoms, coral rocks, by which we found the shoal was to the South of us. We presently tacked again and stood to the North, and deepened our water. At five o'clock we had 45 fathoms, coarse sand and shells, being now off the shoal, as appeared by the sand and shells, and our having left the coral. By all this I knew we had fallen in to the North of the shoal, and that it was laid down wrong in my sea chart. For I found it to lie in about  $28^{\circ} *$  latitude; and by our run in the next day, the outward edge which I sounded on, lies 16 leagues off shore†.

‘ When it was day, we steered in *ENE*, with a brisk gale, but

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\* Mistakenly printed  $27^{\circ}$  in the Edition of 1703.

† In Van Keulen's Chart of the Western Coast of *New Holland*, a Copy of which is in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of original plans and documents (Class 17), the Northern part of *Houtman's Abrolhos* (the Shoal here meant, and on which a Dutch Ship had been wrecked) is laid down in latitude  $28^{\circ} 15' S$ : and the outer part 17 geographical leagues from the main land of *New Holland*; which is a very near agreement with the remarks of Captain Dampier.

but did not see the land till nine in the morning. At noon it was about six leagues off, and we had 40 fathoms depth, clean sand. As we ran in this day and the next, we took several sights of the land at different bearings and distances. We strove to run near the shore to seek for a harbour. The land was low, and appeared even. About the latitude of  $26^{\circ}$  S, we saw an opening, and stood in, hoping to find a harbour there; but when we came to the mouth, which was about two leagues wide, we saw rocks and foul ground within, and therefore stood out again. We had there 20 fathoms water within two miles of the shore.'

CHAP. 7.

1699.

August.  
Western  
Coast of  
New  
Holland.

' Here being no harbour, I stood off to sea again in the evening of August the 2d, fearing a storm, as the clouds began to grow thick in the Western board. In the night, it blew very hard.'

2d.

' August the 5th, the weather having become moderate, we made the land again. At noon we were in latitude  $25^{\circ} 30'$  S, variation this day  $7^{\circ} 24'$  W.'

5th.

' The 6th in the morning, we saw an opening in the land, and we ran into it and anchored in  $7\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms clean sand, two miles from the shore. It was somewhat difficult getting in here, by reason of many shoals we met with; but I kept a boat sounding before me. The mouth of this sound, which I called *Shark's Bay*, lies in latitude about  $25^{\circ}$  S; and our reckoning made its longitude from the *Cape of Good Hope* to be about  $87$  degrees; which is less by 195 leagues than is laid down in our common draughts\*.'

6th.

Dirk  
Hartog's  
Reede, or  
Shark's Bay.

' As soon as we were at anchor, I sent a boat to seek for fresh water, but none was found. The next morning I went ashore with pickaxes and shovels to dig for water. We tried in several

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\* This Road in which Dampier anchored, is the same in which Dirk Hartog, the first European discoverer of the Western coast of *New Holland*, anchored, A. D. 1616, after whom it was named *Dirk Hartog's Reede*.



## PART II.

1699.

August.

Western

Coast of

New

Holland.

Dirk

Hartog's

Reede, or

Shark's Bay.

several places, but not finding any in several miles compass, we left off farther search for it, and spent the rest of the day in cutting wood.'

' The land is of a height to be seen nine or ten leagues off, and appears at a distance very even ; but as you come nigher, you find there are many gentle risings. It is all a steep shore against the open sea ; but in this Bay or Sound, the land by the sea side is low ; the soil there is sand, and produces a large sort of samphire which bears a white flower. Farther in, is a reddish mould, a sort of sand producing grass, plants and shrubs. Of trees and shrubs here are divers sorts ; but none above ten foot high : some of these trees were sweet scented, and reddish within the bark, like sassafras, but redder. The blossoms of the different sorts of trees were of several colours, but mostly blue ; and smelt very sweet and fragrant. There were also beautiful and fragrant flowers growing on the ground, unlike any I had seen elsewhere.'

' The only large birds we saw were eagles. There were small singing birds, with variety of fine shrill notes. The water fowls are ducks (which now had young ones) curleus, galdens, crab-catchers, cormorants, gulls, pelicans, and some water-fowl, such as I have not seen any where besides.'

' The land animals we saw here were only a sort of racoons, different from those of the *West Indies*, chiefly as to their legs ; Kangaroos. for these have very short fore legs, but go jumping, and like the racoons are very good meat ; and a kind of guanos which Guanos. are very slow in motion. The guanos I have seen elsewhere are very good meat, but the guanoe of *New Holland*, when opened, hath an unsavory smell.'

' The sea-fish in this bay, were chiefly sharks, and therefore I gave it the name of *Shark's Bay*. Here were skates, thorn-backs, fish of the ray-kind, bonetas, gar-fish, muscles, periwinkles, limpets, oysters, both of the pearl kind and for eating, cockles,

cockles, and others. The shore was lined thick with strange and beautiful shells. We caught here two turtle.' CHAP. 7.

' We anchored at three several places in *Shark's Bay*; we stayed at the first till the 11th, and searched for fresh water to no purpose, but we cut good store of fire wood, and my company were well refreshed with racoons, turtle, and fish. I was for standing farther into the Bay partly that we might increase our stock of fresh water, and partly for the sake of discovering this part of the coast, to which I was invited by seeing from this anchoring place all open before me [Eastward].'

' On the 11th, we weighed anchor about noon, and stood farther in with an easy sail, having but shallow water. About two in the afternoon we saw the land ahead that makes the South of the Bay, and before night shoaled our water, therefore we shortened sail, and stood off and on all night, in from ten to seven fathoms depth. This land we found to be an Island of three or four leagues long. But it appearing barren, I did not strive to go nearer it; and the rather because the wind would not permit us without much trouble. I therefore made no farther attempts in this SW and South part of the Bay, but (on the 12th) steered away to the Eastward to see if there was any land that way, for as yet we had seen none there. We passed the North point of the land to the South, being confirmed that it was an Island by seeing an opening to the East of it. As we stood further on, our soundings were at first seven fathoms, which held a great while, but at length decreased to six. Then we saw land right ahead. We could not come near it with the ship, for the shoalness of the depth. The land was extraordinary low, and very unlikely to have fresh water, though it had a few trees, seemingly mangroves. I stood out again, and before night anchored in eight fathoms, clear white sand, about the middle of the Bay. The next day we got under sail, and that afternoon came to an anchor once more, near two Islands and a shoal of coral rocks which face the Bay.

Here

1699.  
August.  
Dirk  
Hartog's  
Reede, or  
Shark's Bay.

- PART II.** Here we scrubbed the ship, and as I found it improbable I should get any thing further here, I made the best of my way out to sea again: but as from the shallowness of the water, there was no going out to the East of the two Islands, nor between them, for there the sea breaks, I returned to the West entrance, going out by the same way I came in at, only on the East instead of the West side of a small shoal in the entrance, in which channel we had 10, 12, and 13 fathoms, deepening as we stood out to sea. It was the 14th of August we sailed out of this Sound, the mouth of which lies in  $25^{\circ} 5' S$ . In passing out, we saw three water serpents in the sea, of a yellow colour with brown spots; they were each about four feet long, and of the bigness of a man's wrist.
- 1699.** **August.** **Dirk Hartog's Reede, or Shark's Bay.**
- Western Coast of New Holland.**
- 15th.** 'The wind being at North and the land lying North-Easterly, we plied off and on, getting little forward, till the next day, when the wind coming at SSW and South, we coasted along the shore to the Northward, at six or seven leagues distance, with soundings between 40 and 46 fathoms, brown sand with white shells. The 15th, we were in latitude  $24^{\circ} 41' S$ . Variation  $6^{\circ} 6' W$ .'
- 16th.** 'The 16th, at noon, latitude  $23^{\circ} 22' S$ . The wind coming at EbN, we could not keep the shore on board, but lost sight of the land, and had no ground at 80 fathoms. The wind shortly after came to the Southward, and on the 17th, we saw the land again. Our latitude that day was  $25^{\circ} 2' S$ , and our longitude  $0^{\circ} 22'$  East of *Shark's Bay*.'
- 18th.** **A Shoal Point.** 'The 18th. In the afternoon, being three or four leagues off shore, I saw a shoal point stretching from the land into the sea a league or more. The sea broke high on it. I stood farther off and coasted along at seven or eight leagues distance. At 12 at night we sounded and had but 20 fathoms hard sand: upon which I steered off West half an hour and had 40 fathoms; and soon after, 85 fathoms; by two, we had no ground, and then I ventured to steer due North, which is two points wide of

of the coast (which lies NNE) being afraid of another shoal. At the time we were in 20 fathoms, we had abundance of whales about us, blowing and making a dismal noise; but as we went into deeper water, they left us. The bank where we had the 20 fathoms, lies in 22° 22' S latitude.

CHAP. 7.

1699.

August.

NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

'We were within the verge of the general trade-wind when we first fell in with the land, and by the time we were in 25° latitude, we had usually the trade-wind regular from the SSE if we were at any distance from the shore; but when near shore, we had often sea and land breezes; and in *Shark's Bay* we had a NW wind.'

'In the evening of the 19th, the wind coming from the ESE, we got out of sight of the land, which now trended away NE.'

19th.

'The 21st, we had ground at 45 fathoms, sand; but we did not see the land till noon, and then only from our mast-head, bearing SE b E about nine leagues distant, which appeared like a bluff head of land. At sunset we anchored in 20 fathoms, clean sand, about five leagues from the bluff point, which was found to be the Easternmost end of an Island five or six leagues in length and one in breadth. There were three or four rocky Islands about a league from us between us and the bluff point, and we saw many other Islands both to the East and West of the bluff, as far as we could see either way from our topmast head: and all within them to the South, there was nothing but Islands of a good height that may be seen eight or nine leagues off. By what we saw of them, they must be a range of Islands, stretching from ENE to WSW, about 20 leagues in length, or for aught I know, as far as to those of *Shark's Bay*: and to a considerable breadth also, for we could see nine or ten leagues in among them towards the Continent or main land of *New Holland*, if there be any such thing hereabouts. By the tides I met with afterwards, more to the NE, I had a strong suspicion that here might be a kind of archipelago

21st.

Archipelago  
of Islands  
along the  
Coast.

## PART II.

1699.

Tasman's  
Chart of the  
West Coast  
of New  
Holland.

pelago of Islands, and possibly a passage into the great *South Sea Eastward*.'

' This place is in latitude  $20^{\circ} 21'$  S, but in the draught I had of this coast, which was Tasman's, it is laid down in  $19^{\circ} 50'$  S, and the shore is laid down all along as joining in one body or continent, with some openings appearing like rivers, and not like Islands as they really are. I found the soundings also shallower than he marks them, and therefore think he was not so near to the shore as he imagined, and not near enough to distinguish the Islands. His meridian distance, or longitude from *Shark's Bay*, agrees well enough with my account, though we differ in latitude.'

22d.

' The 22d in the morning, I weighed anchor, designing to run in among the Islands, and sent my boat before to sound, but when within two leagues of the bluff head, we had shoal water and uncertain soundings; and abreast the bluff head at two miles distance, we had but seven fathoms, and running in a little farther, but four fathoms, so we anchored, yet when we had veered out a third of a cable, we had seven fathoms again. I sent the boat to sound for a channel. We were about four leagues within the outer small rocky Islands, but we could see nothing but Islands within us, some five or six leagues long, others not above a mile round; and all appeared dry, rocky, and barren. The rocks were of a rusty yellow colour, which made me despair of getting fresh water on any of them; but I was in hopes of finding a channel to run within all the Islands, and get to the main of *New Holland*. We weighed again and sailed about a league farther, when our water grew shoal again, and then we anchored in six fathoms depth, hard sand, being a league within the Island on whose outside is the bluff point. I went ashore with shovels to dig; but found no water. Here grow shrubs of two or three sorts, one of which was like rosemary, therefore I called this *Rosemary Island*. We saw here white parrots, which flew a great many together. Here were limpets

Rosemary  
Island.

limpets and periwinkles, and small oysters, growing on rocks, which were very sweet. All the stones here were of a rusty colour, and ponderous.'

CHAP. 7.

1699.

August.

NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

' On an Island three or four leagues distant, we saw a smoke, which we took for a sign of inhabitants, and consequently that fresh water was there ; but consulting with my officers, we all agreed to depart from hence.'

' The 23d, at five in the morning, we weighed and stood out with a land wind. By nine we had the sea-breeze strong, which increasing, made us take in our topsails. At noon, it began to abate.'

23d.

' We coasted along shore with sea and land breezes. In the night there was little wind, and we caught good store of fish with hook and line, as snappers, breams, old wives, and dog-fish: when these last came, we seldom caught others. We caught also a monk-fish, of which I brought home a drawing\*. We had soundings about 20 fathoms; but on the 26th, being about four leagues off shore, they gradually shoaled to 14 fathoms; and presently after, as I was edging in towards the land, decreased almost at once till we had but five fathoms. We steered out and deepened our water, and at about four leagues and a half from shore had ten fathoms. I then steered away ENE, as the land lies here, with even soundings.'

26th.

' The next day (the 27th,) we had 20 fathoms, and were out of sight of land till the afternoon, having then 16 fathoms. The latitude this day was  $19^{\circ} 24'$  S; longitude East from *Shark's Bay*  $6^{\circ} 11'$ . Variation  $5^{\circ} 18'$  W. Ever since we left *Shark's Bay* we have had fair clear weather. The wind this afternoon was North and we steered E b N, which is a point in on the land; but we decreased our soundings quickly to seven fathoms, and therefore tacked and stood off; but the wind soon coming round to NW, we again tacked, and steered NNE.'

27th.

' The

\* Given in Vol. III of *Dampier's Voyages*. Plate opposite to p. 141.  
VOL. IV. 3 F

## PART II.

1699.

August.

30th.

' The 28th, we saw no land, and had depth from 20 to 40 fathoms. Saw many water snakes, and some whales.'

' The 30th, being in latitude  $18^{\circ} 21' S$ , we made the land again, on which we saw many great smokes. At four in the afternoon, I anchored in eight fathoms, clear sand, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  leagues from the shore. I sent a boat to sound, and the depth was found to decrease gradually to six fathoms at two miles from the shore. This evening the moon was eclipsed.'

31st.

' The 31st, betimes in the morning, I landed with ten or eleven men, armed, to search for water. When we came near the shore, we saw three tall naked black men in a sandy bay ahead of us: but as we rowed in, they went away. When we landed, I sent the boat with two men in her to lie a little from the shore, while the rest of us went after the three black men who were now got on a small hill about a quarter of a mile from us, with eight or nine men more in their company. They seeing us coming, ran away. When we came to the top of the hill we saw several things like haycocks standing in a savanna or plain, about half a mile from us, which we at first thought were houses of the natives; but we found them to be so many rocks. We searched about, but could find no water, nor houses, nor people; so we returned to the place where we had landed, and there dug for water.'

' While we were so at work, the natives came to a small hill a little way from us, where they stood making a great noise, menacing and threatening us. At last one of them came towards us, and the rest followed at a distance. I went out to meet him, making all the signs of peace and friendship that I could: but when I came within fifty yards of him, he ran away: neither would any of them stay for us to come nigh them. At last I took two men with me, and went along by the sea side purposely to catch one of them if I could, that we might learn where they got fresh water. There were ten or twelve of the natives, who seeing three of us going from the rest of our men, followed



followed us at a distance. But there being in part of the way a sand-bank between us and them that they could not then see us, we made a halt. They knew we must be thereabouts, and being three or four times our number, thought to seize us. So they dispersed themselves, some going to the sea-shore, and others beating about the sand hills. We knew by what we had seen of them that we could easily out-run them; so a nimble young fellow that was with me, seeing some of them near, ran towards them, and they for some time ran away. But finding he was overtaking them, they faced about and fought him. He had a cutlass, and they had wooden lances, with which they were too hard for him. I discharged my gun to scare them, but avoided shooting any of them, till finding my young man in great danger, and that they despised the noise of the gun, tossing up their hands and crying *pooh, pooh*, and coming on afresh with a groat noise, I thought it high time to charge again, and shoot one of them, which I did. The rest, seeing him fall, made a stand; and my young man took the opportunity to disengage himself and come off to me. I returned back to the boat, designing to attempt the natives no farther, being sorry for what had already happened. They took up their wounded companion: and my young man, who had been struck through the cheek by one of their lances, was afraid it had been poisoned; but he soon recovered of it.

CHAP. 7.

1699.

August.

NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

‘ Among these New Hollanders, one who seemed to be a kind of prince or captain, was painted with a circle of white about his eyes, and down his nose, which added much to his natural deformity; for they were all of them the most unpleasant looking and the worst featured of any people I ever saw.’

‘ These new Hollanders are probably the same sort of people as those I met with on this coast in my Voyage round the World; for they were much the same blinking creatures, with the same black skins, frizzled hair, tall and thin persons, as those were.’

See p. 260.



## PART II.

1699.

NW Coast  
of New  
Holland.

‘ My men dug eight or nine feet deep, yet found no water. The tide runs very swift here, and rises and falls about five fathoms up and down. The flood runs SEbS till towards the last quarter, and then sets right in towards the shore, which here lies SSW and NNE. The ebb runs NWbN. By the strength and course of the tides hereabouts, it should seem that if there be a passage through Eastward to the great *South Sea*, one might expect to find the mouth of it somewhere between this place and *Rosemary Island*.’

‘ The land hereabouts is much like that part of *New Holland* I formerly described ; low, but with a chain of sand hills to the sea, that allows nothing to be seen of what is farther inland. At high water, the coast shows very low. At low-water mark the shore is all rocky, so that there is then no landing ; but at high water, a boat may go over the rocks to the sandy beach which runs all along on this coast. The land for 5 or 600 yards from the sea is dry and sandy, bearing shrubs, with blossoms of different colours, most of them very fragrant. Some had fruit like peascods, in each of which there were just ten small peas ; I opened many and found in them no more nor less. Here are also a sort of beans I saw at *Rosemary Island*. The land farther in, so much as we saw of it, was plain and even, partly savannas, partly woodland. Here are a great many rocks in the large savanna we were in, which are five or six feet high, and round at the top like a haycock, very remarkable ; some red and some white\*.’

‘ Some

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\* The Dutch Ship *Batavia* was wrecked on the *Abrolhos Shoal* of *New Holland*, in June 1629. The Captain, Francis Pelsart, with some of his men, went afterwards in a boat along the coast of the main-land Northward. In latitude  $25^{\circ} 40'$ , they describe the coast to lay NE. As they pursued their course in that direction, they found the coast one continued rock of a red colour. In  $22^{\circ} 17'$  S latitude, they remarked the barren appearance of the land, ‘ *ou ils ne voyoient que de grands tas de fourmils ; mais si grands, que l'on les auroit pris de loin pour des maison's d'Indiens,*’ i. e. on which they saw only ant hills ; but so high, that they might

‘ Some of my men saw two or three beasts like hungry  
wolves, and lean like so many skeletons. Among the land  
fowls, we saw plenty of small turtle doves, plump, and which  
were very good meat. The sea here is plentifully stocked with  
large whales, but not to compare with the vast whales of the  
Northern seas.’

CHAP. 7.  
1699.

‘ We got from a well we dug, a few casks of water not fit to  
drink, but which we took on board to boil our oatmeal with,  
whereby we might save the remains of our other water. My  
men growing scorbutic for want of refreshments, and not find-  
ing any good fresh water here, I resolved to leave this coast,  
and accordingly we put to sea the 5th of September. We were  
not far distant from the place I anchored at in my Voyage  
round the World, but the shoals on the coast would have made  
our going there very tedious. I therefore edged off to sea, and  
on the 7th we saw no land. We had soundings however at  
26 fathoms, though at one time before, we had deepened our  
water to 30 fathoms. Our latitude this day was 16° 9’ S, longi-  
tude 8° 57’ E from *Shark’s Bay*. Variation 2° 7’ W. We saw  
here two water snakes, one long, but small; the other as big as  
a man’s leg, and with a red head.’

September.  
p. 259.  
Departure  
from the  
Coast of  
New  
Holland.

‘ The 8th we were in latitude 15° 37’ S. Longitude from  
*Shark’s Bay* 9° 34’ East. Had soundings at 26 fathoms, coarse  
sand. From here we shaped our course for *Timor*. We observed  
small white clouds which was a sign of the approach of the  
NNW monsoon; the wind had been changeable, and this day  
it blew faintly from SWbW; the clouds also thickened in  
the NW.’

8th.

‘ The 10th, we saw a small low sandy Island, the same I had  
seen in my former voyage, but my account then made it in  
13° 50’ S. At noon, this day, we were within a mile of it, when  
by

Low sandy  
Island.  
See p. 258.

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might have been taken for houses of the Indians. *Relation de divers Voyages  
curieux, 1<sup>re</sup> partie.* What Pelsart took to be *fourmils* were probably rocks of the  
same kind as those which were remarked by Dampier.

- PART II.** by a good observation I found it to lie in  $13^{\circ} 55' S$ . Longitude  
 1699. from *Shark's Bay*  $10^{\circ} 55' E^{*}$ .  
 September. ' The 14th, we made the coast of *Timor*, near the middle of  
 At *Timor*. the South side of the Island; on the 22d we anchored near the  
 Dutch Fort *Concordia* in *Copang Bay*; and in October went to  
*Laphao*, a Portuguese settlement on the North side of *Timor*†.'

*The Voyage to New Guinea.*

1700. ' THE Ship being refitted and furnished with provisions at  
 January. *Timor*, on December the 20th, we sailed for *New Guinea*, [the  
 Western coast of] which land we first descried on new year's  
 day, 1700. It appeared high, and the next day we saw several  
 high Islands near the coast, which here lies along ESE and  
 WNW. The land though high, is even, and well clothed with  
 tall flourishing trees. We ran to the Westward of four moun-  
 tainous Islands. When off at sea we had commonly clear  
 weather; but near land we had some tornadoes; and black  
 clouds hovered over the land.'

- ' The 7th, the Boatswain went on shore with the seine, and  
 at one haul caught 352 mackarel and about 20 other fish. The  
 next day, we anchored about a mile from the mouth of a river,  
 in 25 fathoms; here we filled all our water casks, and caught  
 some pike fish. We sailed from this which we called *Fresh*  
 Fresh Water Bay. *Water Bay* on the 10th, and passed out by a white Island,  
 which I so named for its many white cliffs. This Island is in  
 White Island. latitude  $3^{\circ} 4' S^{\dagger}$ .'

' We

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\* This joined to Dampier's former reckoning, makes the longitude of *Shark's Bay*  $11\frac{1}{4}$  West of the West end of *Timor*.

† Dampier has given a large description of the Island *Timor*, and of the Dutch and Portuguese Settlements there.

‡ In Lieutenant Mac Cluer's chart of his track in the *Panther* in 1790-1, *White Island* is placed in latitude  $2^{\circ} 53' S$ .





‘ We plied up against Northerly and NW winds, and against currents, to get to the Northward, passing many small Islands and dangerous shoals, and occasionally anchoring to take on board fresh water and wood. Among the Islands at which we anchored, one, in latitude  $2^{\circ} 43' S$ , was called by the natives *Pulo Sabuda*. They were a tawny people with long black hair, and in their manners differed little from the Mindanayans. We continued to ply Northward without any thing remarkable occurring till the 4th of February, when we came to the NW Cape of *New Guinea*, by the Dutch called *Cape Mabo*\*. This part of *New Guinea* is high land, covered with tall trees; but the Cape itself ends in a low sharp point, and on either side of it there appears another such point at equal distances. Off the *Cape* is a small woody Island, and there are many Islands of different sizes to the North and NE of it. We tried soundings at three leagues from the shore, but found no ground.’

‘ We passed the *Cape* in the afternoon, and stood over to the Islands, the wind Easterly. By the next morning we had got five or six leagues to the Eastward, and I sent a boat to one of the Islands, which at her return brought on board such a cockle as I formerly found near *Celebes*, the meat of one of which would suffice seven or eight men, and was wholesome good meat. They saw many more at an Island to which they had been, which for that reason I named *Cockle Island*. At one o’clock, afternoon, the tide setting Westward, we anchored in 35 fathoms, coarse sand. Being nearest to *Cockle Island*, I sent boats there to cut wood and to fish. At four, a breeze springing up at SSW, I made a signal for the boats to return. They brought back some wood and a few small cockles, none of them exceeding ten pounds in weight, whereas the shell of the great one weighed 78 lbs.; but it happened to be high water and they could not get at the bigger ones. They also brought on board

CHAP. 7.

1700.

January.

Coast of  
New  
Guinea.Pulo  
Sabuda.February  
4th.

Cape Mabo.

5th.

Cockle  
Island.

pigeons,

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\* Schouten marked the Eastern Cape of *Gilolo* with the name of *Maba*.

- PART II.** pigeons, of which we found plenty in all the Islands in these seas, and also large bats.'
1700.  
February. ' At four in the afternoon, we weighed anchor. The next day, at a small woody Island about two leagues from us, I found the greatest number of pigeons I ever saw either in the East or West Indies. We got here cockles enough for all the ship's company ; but having no shot with us, we could kill no pigeons. The flood tide here sets West ; and the ebb, which is faint and of small continuance, East. And so we have found it ever since we came from *Timor*. Being now to the North of *New Guinea*, we find the trade-wind at East.'
- 6th. Pigeon Island.
- 7th. ' The 7th in the morning, I sent a boat to *Pigeon Island*, which returned with 22 pigeons and some large cockles. They brought also one empty shell that weighed 258 lbs. This evening we anchored near an Island which I named *King William's Island*. It is clothed with woods, among which were tall and straight trees fit for any use.'
- 8th. ' The 8th, an hour after noon, we weighed and stood Eastward between *King William's Island* and the main land of *New Guinea*. There were shoals and small Islands between us and *New Guinea* which caused the tides to set very inconstantly. We found the flood setting Eb N, and the ebb W b S.'
- 9th. ' The 9th, we plied Eastward all day between the main land and small Islands. The next morning we had hard rain, and saw many shoals of small fish. We lay becalmed off a pretty deep bay of *New Guinea*, about 12 or 14 leagues wide and 7 or 8 deep ; *Cape Mabo* bearing from us SW b W  $\frac{1}{2}$  W distant seven leagues.'
- From our passing *Cape Mabo*, to the 12th, we had small Easterly winds and calms, so that we often anchored and got not in all that time above 30 leagues to the Eastward of *Cape Mabo*. On the 12th, at four in the afternoon, a small gale sprung up at NE b N, with rain. At five it shuffled about to NW, from thence to the SW, and continued between those two points,

points, a pretty brisk gale; so that we made sail and steered away NE till the morning of the 13th to get about the *Cape of Good Hope*\*; after which we steered more Easterly.'

CHAP. 7.

1700.

February.

Coast of  
New  
Guinea.

' We had much rain. At eight in the morning of the 14th, the weather cleared up. We were about six leagues from the coast of *New Guinea*, which appeared very high. We saw two headlands about 20 leagues asunder, one to the East, the other to the West, which last is called the *Cape of Good Hope*. We found variation 4° East.'

' The 15th, at two in the morning, the wind, which had been at NW, flew about at once to the SSW, and it rained very hard. The wind after some time settled at WSW, and we steered ENE for fear of coming too near to *Schouten's Island*, till three in the morning, when the wind and rain abating, we steered E  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. Presently after, it being a little clear, the man at the bowsprit end called out "Land on the starboard bow." We looked out, and saw it plain; and sounding, had but 10 fathoms, the bottom soft. We stood off from this land, and deepened our soundings. When it was daylight, we were about five leagues distant from the land we had seen, which was a small Island, pretty high. I named it *Providence*†, because it was by mere providence that we missed running upon it. To the Southward of this is *William Schouten's Island*, which is high and about 20 leagues long. This morning we saw many trees and logs floating, which probably came out of some great river.'

Little  
Providence  
Island.

' On the 16th, we crossed the line. The 23d, we saw a snake in the water furiously assaulted by two fish in shape and size like mackarel, and of a yellow greenish colour. The snake swam from

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\* Meaning the Cape of the Main land of *New Guinea*.

† In Dampier's Chart two small Islands are laid down, with the names *Great Providence* and *Little Providence*, near the NW part of *Schouten's Island*, but only one is mentioned in his Journal. In W. Schouten's Chart likewise, two small Islands are laid down near the NW part of *Schouten's Island*, and only one is mentioned in the Narrative of Le Maire and Schouten's Voyage. See Chart in Vol. II, opposite to p. 419.



**PART II.** from them keeping his head above water, the fish snapped at  
 1700. his tail, but when he turned to wards them, they would withdraw.  
 February. He defended himself, swimming away at a great rate till we  
 lost sight of them.'

25th. ' The 25th, in the morning, we saw an Island to the Southward  
 of us, at about 15 leagues distance \*. We steered for it, supposing  
 it to be that which the Dutch call *Vischer's Island*, but finding  
 Matthias it otherwise, I called it *Matthias Island*, it being that Saint's  
 Island. day. This Island is mountainous and woody, with spots of

26th. land which seemed to be cleared. The next day at noon, we  
 were fair up with another Island seven or eight leagues farther  
 Eastward. I intended to have anchored at its SE side: but the  
 Squally tornadoes came on so thick and hard that I would not venture  
 Island. in. This island is pretty low, and cloathed with wood. It is  
 two or three leagues long, and a mile distant from it to the SW,  
 is another Island, small, low, and woody; and about a mile in  
 circuit. Between them runs a reef of rocks which joins them.  
 The biggest, I named *Squally Island*.'

' We could not anchor here, so I stood Southward to make  
 the mainland. At five in the afternoon, we saw land which we  
 took for *Cape Salomon Sweert*, bearing SSE 10 leagues. We  
 Salomon passed many floating trees this afternoon.'

27th. ' The next morning, as soon as it was light, we steered ESE as  
 Land sup- the land lay, being distant from it about seven leagues. We  
 posed to be passed by many low woody Islands which lay between us and  
 the Eastern the mainland. Our latitude 2° 43' S. Variation here 9° 50' E.'

28th. ' The 28th, we had tornadoes, and during the night had  
 much lightning with fair weather. This morning we left a  
 large high Island on our larboard side, called in the Dutch  
 draughts *Vischer's Isle*, which is about six leagues from the main-  
 Vischer's land. Seeing many smokes on the mainland, I steered towards  
 Island. it.

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\* Dampier's track Eastward from *Schouten's Island*, was to the North of the  
 Islands which Schouten called the 25 Islands, and which late navigators have  
 named the *Admiralty Isles*.

it. The land here is high and mountainous, with tall flourishing trees. The sides of the hills had many large plantations, and patches of cleared land. I was desirous to have some commerce with the inhabitants, and as we drew nigh the shore we saw first one proe, soon after, two or three more, and at last a great many boats, 46 in all, came to us from all the adjacent bays. When they were near enough, they spoke to us, though we could not understand them. They made signs for us to go to the shore; and as the weather looked well, I endeavoured to get into a bay ahead of us; but we had been lying to, and by that means had drifted so far to leeward, that it was now difficult to get in. The natives lay round us in their proes, to whom I shewed beads, knives, and glasses, but no one of them ventured near enough to receive any thing from us; therefore I threw to them a knife fastened to a piece of board, and a glass bottle corked up with beads in it, which they took up, and seemed well pleased. They often struck their left breast with their right hand, and as often held up a black truncheon over their heads, which we thought was a token of friendship; wherefore we did the like. When we stood in towards their shore, they seemed to rejoice; but when we stood off, they frowned, yet kept us company in their proes, still pointing to the shore. About five o'clock, we got within the mouth of the bay, and tried for soundings several times, but had no ground, though we were within a mile of the shore. The bason of this bay was above two miles within us, into which we might have gone; but as I was not assured of anchorage there, so I thought it not prudence to run in at this time, it being near night, and seeing a black tornado rising in the West, which I most feared: besides, we had near 400 men in proes close by us, and the shores were lined with men from one end to the other. What designs they had, we knew not; but we got our arms ready, to prevent treachery. At last I resolved to go out of the bay again, which when the natives in their proes perceived, they began to

CHAP. 7.

1700.

February.

Natives.

Slinger's  
Bay.

## PART II.

1700.

flung stones at us as fast as they could, being provided with engines for that purpose, wherefore I named this place *Slinger's Bay*. But at the firing of one gun they were all amazed, drew off, and flung no more stones. They got together, as if consulting what to do, for they did not make in towards the shore, but lay still, though some of them were killed or wounded; and more of them had paid for their boldness, but that I was unwilling to cut off any of them.'

March  
1st.

Gerrit  
Denijs  
Island.

'The next day, we sailed close by an Island where we saw many people, and some canoes came towards us, but they could not overtake us. In passing by the SE point, we tried for soundings within a mile of the sandy bays, but had no ground. About three leagues Northward of the SE point, we opened a large deep bay, well sheltered from WNW and SW winds. There were two other Islands to the NE of it, which secured it against NE winds; one of them was small and woody; the other was a league long, and full of cocoa-nut trees. I could not get into the bay because of the flaws which come from the high land over it, and as night was coming on, I bore away to see if we could get anchoring on the East side of the small Island; but when we came there, we found the Island too narrow to afford shelter, therefore we passed the night between that and the greater Island, designing to try for anchorage next morning.'

'In the evening, three canoes came to us, and one of them came along side. She had three men in her, who brought five cocoa-nuts, for which I gave each of them a knife and a string of beads, to encourage them to come again.'

2d.

'The next day we were kept from the great Island by violent gusts of wind.'

'On the 3d of March, being five leagues to leeward of the great Island, which in the Dutch draughts is called *Gerrit Denijs*, we saw the mainland, and another great Island to leeward of us about seven leagues distant, for which we bore away.

away. *Gerrit Denijs Isle* is high, mountainous, and woody. The bays by the sea side are well stored with cocoa-nut trees, and we saw small houses there. The Island appeared very populous, and the sides of the hills were thick set with plantations. The natives are very black; they are strong and well limbed, have great round heads, and hair naturally curled and short, which they shave into several forms, and dye of diverse colours, as red, white, and yellow. They have broad round faces, with great bottle noses, yet agreeable enough, except that they disfigure themselves by painting and wearing great things through their noses as big as a man's thumb and about four inches long. They have also great holes in their ears wherein they stuff such ornaments as in their noses. They are dexterous and active in their proes, which are ingeniously built; but we saw neither sail nor anchor in any of them, though most of the Eastern Indians use both. Their weapons were lances, swords, slings, and bows and arrows. The people that came to us in *Slinger's Bay*, are in all respects like these. Their speech is clear and distinct. The words they used most, when near us, were *Vacousee Allamais*, pointing then to the shore. Their signs of friendship are either a great truncheon, or bough of a tree full of leaves, put on their heads; and often striking their heads with their hands. The Island *Gerrit Denijs* is of no regular figure, but is full of points shooting forth into the sea. The middle of the Island is in latitude 3° 10' S.

'The next day, having a fresh gale, we got under a high Island which is called in the Dutch draughts *Antony Kaan's Island*. It lies in latitude 3° 25' S, is woody, and full of plantations. By the SE part are three or four small woody Islands, one of which is high and peaked, the others low and flat. To the North is another Island of indifferent height, and larger. We passed between this and *Antony Kaan's Island*, and tried for soundings within a mile of the shore, but found no ground. Many canoes came about us, and made signs for us to go to their

CHAP. 7.

1700.

March.

Gerrit  
Denijs  
Island.The Natives  
described.4th.  
Antony  
Kaan's  
Island.

## PART II.

1700.

March.

their land. At the NE point of *Antony Kaan's Island*, we found a strong current setting to the North West, by which we were driven towards the Island to the Northward. At this time three natives came on board, to whom I shewed nutmegs; and by their signs, I guessed they had some on their Island. I also shewed them some gold dust, which they seemed to know, and called out *Manneel, Manneel*, and pointed towards the land. These men were quite black, with frizzled hair; they were tall, lusty, and well shaped. They came in canoes, whereas the others came in proes. The sides of some were neatly carved. Steering SSE from *Kaan's Island*, we found a strong current against us, which set in some places in streams; in which we saw many trees and logs of wood. We wanted wood, and hoisted a boat out to take up some of this drift wood. It was much worm-eaten, and had in it live worms above an inch long, and about the bigness of a goose quill, having their heads crusted over with a thin shell.'

Island  
St Jan.

' After this, we passed by an Island called by the Dutch, *St. John's Island*. It is nine or ten leagues round, well adorned with lofty trees, and with many plantations on the sides of the hills. Three canoes came off, but would not come alongside.'

' My design in sailing near these Islands was to get wood and water, but we could find no anchoring ground; and the Islands were all so populous that I dared not send a boat ashore unless I could have anchored the ship close at hand.'

8th.  
Near Cape  
Santa Maria.

' March the 8th, we were distant four or five leagues from the mainland, which is very high and woody, with some spots of savannas. Some canoes came off to us here, most of which had no more than one man in them. There was a headland to the Southward of us, beyond which we saw no land; I supposed that from thence the land trended away Westerly. The coast here lies NNE and SSW, with points of land shooting into the sea, which make some fine bays. The headland to the South I named *Cape St. George*.'

Cape  
St George.

' The

‘ The 9th in the morning, a huge black man came off to us in a canoe, but would not come aboard. He made the same signs of friendship as the rest we had met with, yet seemed to speak a different language.’

CHAP. 7.

1700.

March.  
9th.

‘ *Cape St. George* is in latitude  $5^{\circ} 5'$  S, and its meridian distance from *Cape Mabo* is 1290 miles. We found variation here one degree East \*. From *Cape St. George* the coast trends away WNW, and we saw more land to the South West, between which two lands a bay runs in deep for 20 leagues or more. An Island off the *Cape St. George* I named *Isle St. George*.’

St. George's  
Bay  
and Island.

10th.

‘ The next day we saw more land to the Southward, very high. In the evening, we were within a league of the Westernmost land seen, which was very woody. There was no appearance of anchorage, and we saw neither plantations nor coconut trees; yet in the night, we discerned a small fire right against us. The next morning, we saw a burning mountain in the country, peaked at the top.’

11th.

‘ The 12th, we passed by the SW cape of a bay. I named it *Cape Orford* in honour of my noble patron. The latitude of *Cape Orford* was by my observation  $5^{\circ} 24'$  S, and its meridian distance from *Cape St. George*  $44'$  West. The land South of the bay, trends from *Cape Orford* SW per compass, which, allowing  $9^{\circ}$  East variation, is SW  $9^{\circ}$  W †.’

12th.  
Cape  
Orford.

‘ The land on each side of *Cape Orford* is more savanna than woodland, and is highest on the NW side. The *Cape* itself

\* Some doubt occurs respecting this variation, which will shortly be explained.

† This is a difference of eight degrees in the Variation near *Cape St. George*, though the distance is not quite 20 leagues. The Narrative here is corroborated by a Table of the Track and Variations (See *Dampier*, Vol. III, p. 72;) nevertheless, on inspecting the Table, it seems probable that  $1^{\circ}$  has been printed by mistake instead of  $10^{\circ}$ . The Variation found by Dampier near *Cape Salomon Sweet* was  $9^{\circ} 50'$  East; and near *Cape Orford*,  $9^{\circ}$  East; and no remark appears in the Journal of any intermediate irregularity in the Variation. Captain Carteret in 1767 made *Cape Santa Maria*, and sailed close round *Cape St. George*, and found the Variation regular; though it is remarked in Captain Carteret's Voyage that the land seemed to have effect on the needle.

**PART II.** itself is a bluff point, of indifferent height, with flat tableland at the top.'

1700.

March.

'We steered along SW per compass, keeping about six leagues off the shore; and lay by during the night, because I would not miss any place where we might cut wood and fill water. 'This coast is high and mountainous, and not so thick of trees as the land on the other side of *Cape Orford*.'

14th.

'On the 14th, seeing a pretty deep bay, with Islands in it where I thought we might ride secure, we ran in towards the shore. When we had got within four or five miles of the shore, six boats came off to us, with about forty men in them all. Perceiving they only came to view us, and would not come aboard, I waved to them to go ashore; but they did not or would understand me; therefore I whistled a shot over their heads out of my fowling-piece, and then they pulled away for the shore as hard as they could. Soon afterwards, three other boats came from some Islands, and were soon within hail; for we lay almost becalmed. One of the boats had about forty men in her, and another large boat with a high head and stern, painted, and full of men, came out of the bay where I intended to go. I thought it probable they were all coming to fight us, therefore I fired a shot over the great boat nearest to us, to make them leave their babbling and take to their paddles. We still lay becalmed, and they rowing wide of us directed their course towards the other great boat that was coming off. When they were pretty near each other, I caused the gunner to fire a gun between them, which he did very dexterously, for the shot dropped in the water between the two boats, and so affrighted them, that they rowed away for the shore as fast as they could, and the smaller boats followed. Having a gentle breeze at SSE,

Port  
Montague.

we bore into the bay after them; and as we passed a point at the entrance, I saw a great number of men peeping from under the rocks: I ordered a shot to be fired close by, to scare them; for my business being to wood and water, I thought it necessary



sary to strike some terror into the inhabitants who were very numerous, and (both by what I saw now, and had formerly experienced) treacherous. After this, I sent my boat to sound, and following the boat, came to anchor about a quarter of a mile from the shore in 26 fathoms, fine black sand and ooze. We rode right against the mouth of a river, where I hoped to find fresh water. Some of the natives were standing on a small point at the river's mouth. I sent a small shot over their heads to fright them, which it did effectually. In the afternoon, some natives came to the river's mouth with a present of coconuts; to whom I sent my boat: and when she was come near the shore, they came running into the water and put their nuts into her. Afterwards, I sent two boats for fresh water, which they took up about half a mile within the mouth of the river; one boat filling water, whilst the other watched the motions of the natives, who offered no opposition.'

CHAP. 7.

1700.

March.

In Port  
Montague.

' I sent ashore commodities to purchase hogs, yams and other good roots, of which there appeared to be plenty here; but my men returned without getting any thing, the natives being unwilling to trade with us. Yet they admired our hatchets and axes; but would part with nothing except coconuts; and so soon as they gave them, they made signs to our men to be gone; for they were much afraid of us.'

15th.

' The 18th, we had filled all our water casks; but my officers were unanimously of opinion that we should stay longer here, to get, if possible, some hogs, goats, and yams.'

18th.

The next day, I sent boats ashore to fish and to cut wood. While they were ashore about thirty or forty men and women passed by them, who at first were a little afraid; but on our people making friendly signs, they went on quietly. The men were finely bedecked with feathers about their heads, and had lances in their hands. The women had no ornament, nor covering, except a bunch of small green boughs stuck under a

19th.

Intercourse  
with the  
Natives.



**PART II.** string which came round their waist, and they carried large baskets full of yams on their heads.'

1700.

March.

In Port  
Montague.

' In the afternoon, I sent for more wood. Some of our men went to the houses of the natives, who behaved to them more shy than usual. They had taken down all the cocoa-nuts from the trees, and driven away their hogs. Our people enquired by signs what was become of the hogs? and the natives answered by pointing to some houses in the bottom of the bay.

20th.

' The 20th, in the morning, I went with two boats up the river, carrying with me iron-work and trinkets which I thought might induce the natives to a commerce with us; but I found them both shy and roguish. I visited three of their villages; but the inhabitants left their houses, and carried with them their hogs and provisions. When I went on board, my officers and men were importunate with me to let them go to the part of the bay where the hogs were said to be. I was fearful they would deal roughly with the natives; but they solicited me the more, and at last I consented, and sent with them the commodities I had taken with me in the morning, giving them strict charge to deal by fair means, and to act cautiously. When they came to land, the natives in great companies stood to resist them, shaking their lances; and some were so daring as to wade into the sea, holding a target in one hand and a lance in the other. Our men held up to them such commodities as I had sent, and made signs of friendship; but to no purpose, for the natives waved to them to be gone. Seeing they would not be prevailed upon to a friendly commerce, my men, being resolved to have some provision, fired some muskets to scare them away; but two or three stood still in a menacing posture, till the boldest dropped his target and ran away; they supposed he was shot in the arm. He and some others felt the smart of our bullets, but none were killed, our design being rather to fright than to kill them. Our men landed, and found abundance of tame hogs running among the

the houses. They shot down nine, which they brought away, and many ran away wounded. They had but little time, for it began to rain, and I had charged them to come away if it rained. By the time the boat was aboard, and the hogs taken in, the weather cleared up, and my men desired to make another trip to the shore, to which I consented, and in the close of the evening, they returned on board with eight hogs more, and a little live pig. The first got we jerked and salted. The last that came we only corned till the next day.

CHAP. 7.

1700.

March.

In Port  
Montague.

‘ In the morning I sent the boats again on shore for more provisions, either of hogs or roots ; but the natives had conveyed all away. Many had returned to their houses, and none offered to oppose our boats landing ; but on the contrary, they were so amicable that one man brought cocoa-nuts, which he left on the shore for our people, and went out of sight. My men finding nothing in the houses but nets and images, brought some away, and also a small canoe. I took the images into my own keeping, and ordered the boatswain to take care of the nets ; but I sent the canoe back to the place whence she had been taken, and in her two axes, two hatchets, six knives, six looking glasses, a large bunch of beads, and four glass bottles. Our men drew the canoe ashore and placed the things to the best advantage, and then came off.’

21st.

‘ All the time of our stay here we had fair weather, only sometimes in the afternoon a shower of rain. We had sea and land breezes, the former from between the South and SE ; the latter from NE to NW. I named this place *Port Montague*. It lies in latitude 6° 10' S, and Meridian distance from *Cape St. George*, 151 miles West. The country is mountainous and woody : the trees in general are neither very straight, thick, nor tall ; but were all unknown to any of us. We saw no animals here but hogs and dogs.’

‘ We departed hence on the 22d of March ; and on the 24th, in the evening, some high land, which was the most Western

24th.

- PART II.** of the land we could see, bore NW  $\frac{1}{2}$  W, though there appeared something like land bearing West a little Southerly: but not being sure of it, I steered WNW all night, under easy sail, intending to coast along the shore at a distance. At ten o'clock I saw a great fire bearing NWb W\* blazing up like a pillar, sometimes very high for three or four minutes, then quite down for an equal space of time, and hardly visible. I knew it to be a burning hill by its intervals. In the morning we found that it was a burning Island, and steered for it. We saw many other Islands, one large and high, another smaller but pretty high; and many small low Islands with shoals.'
1700. Strait discovered by Dampier.
- 25th.
- 26th. Burning Island.
- King William's Cape.
- The Land East of Dampier's Strait, named Nova Britannia.
- ' In the evening we came within three leagues of this burning hill, and stood to the Northward between it and the mainland, keeping nearest to the main. We had soundings at 52 fathoms depth, sand and ooze. The weather was fair, and all night the Island vomited fire and smoke with a dreadful noise like thunder. The next night, we having shot to the Westward of the *Burning Island*, and the funnel being on the South side, we could not discern the fire. This volcano lies in latitude 5° 33' S: and meridian distance from *Cape St. George*, 352 miles West†.'
- ' Hydrographers have drawn this tract of land by which we have been sailing, as being joined to and part of *New Guinea*; but here I found an opening and good passage between. The East part of *New Guinea*, which is to the West of this land, is high and mountainous, and ends on the North East with a large promontory, which I named *King William's Cape*, in honour of his present Majesty. We saw smokes on it.'
- ' The East land afforded a very pleasant and agreeable prospect. We saw smokes, but did not strive to anchor there, choosing rather to get under one of the Islands, where I thought we should find few or no inhabitants. We looked out well to the

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\* This bearing appears too much to the West.

† The Chart does not shew the meridian distance so much.

the North, and seeing no land that way, I was well assured that the East land does not join to *New Guinea*; therefore I named it *Nova Britannia*. It ends [Westward] with two remarkable Capes or Heads, distant from each other six or seven leagues. Within each head were two remarkable mountains, ascending gradually from the sea side, pleasantly mixed of woodland and savannas which seemed smooth and even, and no meadows in *England* appear more green in the spring than these. The NW Cape I called *Cape Gloucester*; and the SW point *Cape Anne*. The NW mountain, which is very remarkable, I called *Mount Gloucester*.

CHAP. 7.

1700.

March.

Cape  
Gloucester.  
Cape Anne.  
Mount  
Gloucester.

‘ Being near the Island to the Northward of the *Volcano*\*, I sent a boat to sound, but they had no ground till they met with a reef of coral rocks about a mile from the shore. We saw people, and cocoa-nut trees, but could not send ashore because our pinnacle was out of order. In the night, we had little wind from the ESE.’

‘ The next morning I found we had fallen to the Westward; wherefore I stood to the Southward towards a high Island 11 or 12 leagues long, which I named *Sir George Rook’s Island*. There are other Islands to the Westward, which may be better seen in my draught than here described. But seeing a very small Island to the NW of *Sir George Rook’s Island*, and not far from it, I steered for that, and found good anchorage at a mile from the Island, within a reef of rocks which lay in a half moon, reaching from the North to the SE part of the Island; and there we anchored in 36 fathoms. Yet after all, we could not land, by reason of the rocks, and a great surge running in upon the shore. We found Variation here, 8° 25’ W.’

Near the  
Coast of  
New  
Guinea.  
Sir George  
Rook’s Isle.

30th.

‘ The

\* From the disagreements between the Chart and Narrative, it is evident that the Chart was not composed during the course of the navigation. The latitude 5° 33’ S, given for the *Volcano*, or *Burning Island*, answers to the Northern of two small Islands in *Dampier’s Passage* as laid down in his chart; but from what is here said, as well as from Views given of the Land (Vol. III. of his *Voyages*, Table XIII.) it appears that *Burning Isle* is the Southern small Isle, and the nearest to *Cape Gloucester*.

## PART II.

1700.

Long  
Island.Crown  
Island.

' The 31st, in the forenoon, we shot in between two Islands, lying about four leagues asunder. The Southernmost is a long Island, with a high hill at each end. This I called *Long Island*. The Northernmost is a round high Island, towering up with several heads or tops, something resembling a crown: and I named it *Crown Isle*. Both these Islands appeared very pleasant, having spots of green savannas mixed among the woodland. We passed close to *Crown Isle*, and saw many shoals near it, and reefs of rocks running off from the points, a mile or more into the sea.'

April  
1st.  
Sailing  
along the  
Northern  
Coast of  
New  
Guinea.  
Sir Robert  
Rich's Isle.

' In the afternoon, we saw an Island bearing NW b W; and we steered NW b N to go to the Northward of it. The next morning, when we were about midway between *Crown Isle* and the Island to the Westward, we saw the mainland of *New Guinea* to the Southward, appearing very high. The Island to the Westward of us I named *Sir Robert Rich's Island*. It is pretty high and woody. As we drew near, four boats came off from the Island to view us, and one ventured within hail; but they all returned without so much as speaking to us. Being to the North of the Island, we saw an opening between it and another Island two leagues to the West of it, which before appeared all in one\*.'

2d.  
Burning  
Island.  
3d.

' Tuesday the 2d, about eight in the morning, we saw a high peaked Island to the Westward, which smoked at its top. The next day we passed by the north side of this burning Island†, but the vent lying on the South side of the peak, we could not see the fire. We afterwards opened three more Islands, and some land to the Southward, which whether Islands or part of the

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\* The Island two leagues to the Westward of *Sir Robert Rich's Island* is omitted in Dampier's Chart, or made to appear as part of *Sir Robert Rich's Isle*.

† This second *Burning Island* seen by Dampier, is the *Brandende bergh* of Schouten. Dampier differs half a degree from Schouten in its latitude, but in the longitude thence to *Schouten's Island*, their reckonings agree.

the main of *New Guinea* we could not tell\*. These Islands are all high, full of fair trees, and spots of green savannas. The *Burning Isle* had very fine land near the sea, and for two-thirds up. We saw also another Isle sending forth a great smoke at once, but the smoke soon vanished, and was no more seen. Among these Islands were small vessels with sails, which we did not see among the people of *Nova Britannia*.

CHAP. 7.

1700.

April.

Northern  
Coast of  
New  
Guinea.

'On the 6th, in latitude  $5^{\circ} 32'$  S, longitude from *Cape St. George*  $8^{\circ} 25'$  W, the Variation was observed  $7^{\circ} 16'$  West. On the 11th, and 13th, I found we were to the Northward of my reckoning, and concluded thence that we had been set to the NW, or rather more Westerly, by a current which I reckoned to run a mile *per hour*.'

6th.

'The 14th, we passed by *Schouten's Island*, and *Providence Island*, and found still a strong current setting to the NW. On the 17th, we saw a high mountain on the mainland, which sent forth much smoke from its top. This Volcano was not observed by us in our passage outward. In the afternoon, we came in sight of *King William's Island*, and before night, were within two leagues of it. I thought to lay by to the Eastward of the Island till next morning, for fear of shoals which are to the Westward; but having a fine breeze of wind, and a light moon, I resolved to pass on. It afterwards fell calm; and here we met with such whirling tides, that when we came into them the ship could not feel the helm, and was turned quite round. In the night, we had a very fragrant smell from *King William's Island*.'

14th.

17th.

Near King  
William's  
Island.

'The 18th, *Cape Mabo*, bore South, distant nine leagues: by which account, it lies in latitude  $0^{\circ} 50'$  S, and meridian distance from *Cape St. George* 1243 miles. In my outward passage, I made the meridian distance between them 1290 miles.

Cape  
Mabo.

\* Dampier's track NWward from *Crown Island* was without all the Islands; and he had not so good a view of that part of the mainland of *New Guinea* as Schouten had.

## PART II.

1700.

April.

miles. *King William's Island* lies in latitude  $0^{\circ} 21' S$ , and may be distinctly seen from off *Cape Mabo*.\*

Strange  
Tides.

' In the evening we passed by *Cape Mabo*, and steered to the South East, but afterwards to the SW. We were now in a channel about eight or nine leagues wide having a range of Islands on the North side, and another on the South side, and very deep water between, so that we had no ground; and a boat that I sent to an Island on the North side, could get no soundings till they were within a cable's length of the shore, and there the bottom was coral rocks. We passed near shoals and found very strange tides that ran in streams, and riplings making so loud a noise that we could hear them before they came within a mile of us. These riplings commonly lasted ten or twelve minutes, and then the sea became as still and smooth as a mill-pond. We sounded when in these riplings, but had no ground.'

May.  
At Timor.

' The 26th, we made the Island *Ceram*. The next day we met a Dutch sloop, from whom I bought five bags of new rice, containing each about 130 lbs, for six Spanish dollars. May the 14th, we anchored in *Babao Bay*, in the Island *Timor*.'

From  
Timor.

' The 24th, we sailed from *Timor*. We stood to the Southward, with the wind at E b S. We coasted along by the Island *Rotte*, which is high land, spotted with woods and savannas. We found a strong current setting to the Southward.'

Search for  
the Tryal  
Rocks.

' I designed to have made *New Holland* in about the 20th degree of latitude. Being nearly in that parallel, we had soundings at 40 fathoms, but saw not the land. We then steered Westward. My design was to seek for the *Tryal Rocks*\*, and it is probable I should have found them, if sickness had not prevented me: but we had variable winds, and my people were negligent, when I was not upon deck myself.'

' We

---

\* Rocks in latitude  $19^{\circ} 30'$  to  $20^{\circ} S$ , or, according to some, in latitude  $20^{\circ}$  to  $20^{\circ} 30' S$ , and reckoned to lie about 80 leagues distant Westward from the coast of *New Holland*, on which an English ship named the *Trial* was wrecked in 1622.



' We made for the coast of *Java*. On July the 3d, we anchored in *Batavia Road*. We found lying here many vessels of the country, and here was also an English ship called the *Fleet Frigate*. I sent my boat on board her with order to make them strike their pendant, which was done.'

CHAP. 7.

1700.

July.

Batavia.

' We lay here till the 17th of October, all which time we had very fair weather, some tornadoes excepted. Three English ships arrived here from *England*.

October.

' On the 17th of October, we weighed anchor from *Batavia*, bound for *Europe*. The 30th of December, we arrived at the *Cape of Good Hope*, and departed thence on January the 11th, 1701. February the 2d, we anchored in *St. Helena Road*, where we remained till the 13th, on which day we set sail again.'

Sail from  
Batavia  
homeward.

1701.

February.

' The 21st, we made the Island *Ascension*, and stood in towards it. On the 22d, between eight and nine o'clock we sprung a leak, which increased so that the chain-pump could not keep the ship free. I set the hand-pump to work also, and by ten o'clock sucked her. I wore the ship and put her head to the Southward to try if that would ease her, and on that tack the chain pump just kept her free. At five the next morning, we made sail towards the Bay, and at nine anchored in 10½ fathoms, sandy ground, the South point bore SSW, distant two miles, and the North point of the bay NE ¼ N distant two miles. As soon as we anchored, I ordered the powder-room to be cleared, to endeavour to come at the leak, for it was too low down to get at without board by heeling the ship, it being within four streaks of the keel; and there was no convenient place here to haul her ashore. By ten o'clock the powder-room was clear. The carpenter's mate, gunner, and boatswain went down, and I followed them. They said they believed the leak might be come at by cutting the ceiling\*. I told the carpenter's

At the  
Island  
Ascension.  
22d.  
The Ship  
springs a  
Leak.

23d.

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\* The planks on the inside of the ship's frame.



**PART II.**

1701.

February.

At the  
Island  
Ascension.

pen-ter's mate, who was the only man in the ship that understood any thing of carpenter's work, that if he could come at the leak by cutting the ceiling, without weakening the ship, he might do it; for he had stopped one leak so before. Wherefore I left him to do his best. The ceiling being cut, they could not come at the leak, for it was against one of the foot-book timbers, which the carpenter's mate said he must first cut before it could be stopped. I went down again, and found the water to come in very violently. I told them I never had known any such thing as cutting timbers to stop leaks; but if they, who ought to be good judges in such a case, thought it would do any good, I bid them use their utmost care and diligence. The carpenter's mate said, by four o'clock in the afternoon he would make all well; it being then about eleven in the forenoon. My men were all employed pumping with both pumps, except such as were assisting the carpenter's mate. Some said it was best to cut the timber away at once; I bid them hold their tongue and let the carpenter's mate alone, for he knew best. I had ordered all the oakum, and waste cloths, to be brought ready for stopping the violence of the water, before he cut too far, and for the same purpose sent some of my own bedding. The carpenter's mate desired short stanchions to be made, which might be placed so that the upper end should touch the deck, and the under part rest on what was laid over the leak. I asked the master carpenter what he thought best to be done? he replied, till the leak was all open, he could not tell. He made a stanchion, but it was too long. I ordered him to make many of several lengths. About five o'clock the boatswain came and told me the leak was increased, and that it was impossible to keep the ship above water; when on the contrary I expected the leak would have been stopped. I went down, and found the timber cut away, and nothing in readiness for stopping the force of the water from coming in. The carpenter's mate was taking dimensions of the place, and I ordered them in the mean time to

to stop in oakum and some pieces of beef, which was done, but all to little purpose, for now the water gushed in so that it flew over the ceiling. I ordered the bulk-head of the powder-room to be cut open to give passage to the water, and to clear away abaft the bulk-head that we might bale. So now we had both pumps going, and as many baling as could; and by this means the water began to decrease, which gave me some hope of saving the ship, and the carpenter's mate was confident. I encouraged my men, who pumped and baled very briskly; and when I saw occasion, I served drams to them to keep them in good heart. But at eleven o'clock, the leak increased, and the planking was so rotten that it broke away like dirt. It became now impossible to save the ship. They could no longer come at the leak, because the water was got above it. The rest of the night was spent in pumping and baling, and my men were very diligent, but the water increased, and we now only thought of saving our lives. Wherefore I hoisted out the boat, and when it was morning, we weighed our anchor, and warped in nearer the shore. In the afternoon, with warping and the help of the sea-breeze, we got the ship into three fathoms and a half, where having fastened her, I made a raft to carry the men's chests and bedding ashore, and before eight at night, most of them were landed. In the morning we unbent the sails to make tents, and then myself and the officers went ashore. I had sent ashore a puncheon and a 36-gallon cask of water, with a bag of rice for our common use; but great part of it was stolen before I got ashore, and at the same time I lost many of my books and papers.'

CHAP. 7.

1701.

February.

At the  
Island  
Ascension.

24th.

Loss of the  
Ship.

' On the 26th, to our great comfort, we found a spring of fresh water, about eight miles from our tents, beyond a very high mountain, which we had to pass over, so that now we were, by God's providence, in a condition of subsisting some time, having plenty of very good turtle by our tents, and water for the fetching. The next day I went with my officers to see

Spring of  
Fresh  
Water.

27th.

**PART II.** this watering place. We lay by the way all night, and next morning early got thither, where we found a very fine spring on the SE side of the high mountain, about half a mile from its top; but the continual fogs make it so cold here that it would be unwholesome living by the water. Near this place were abundance of goats and land-crabs. About two miles SE from the spring we found three or four shrubby trees, upon one of which was cut an anchor and cable, and the year 1642. About half a furlong from these, we found a convenient place for shelter in any weather; and here many of our men resorted, the hollow rocks affording convenient lodging; and the goats, land-crabs, men-of-war birds, and boobies, furnishing food; and the air was wholesome.'

1701.  
February.  
At the  
Island  
Ascension.

' About a week after our landing on the Island, we saw two ships, and I ordered some turtle to be turned to be in readiness for them if they should anchor; but the next morning they had passed by and were out of sight, so the turtle were released again.'

April.  
2d.

' Here we continued without any other ship coming in sight till the 2d of April; when we saw eleven sail to windward of the Island; but they likewise passed by. The day after, four sail appeared, and they all came to anchor in the bay. They were his Majesty's ships the *Anglesey*, *Hastings*, and *Lizard*; and the *Canterbury* East-India ship. I went on board the *Anglesey* with thirty-five of my men; and the rest were disposed of into the other men of war.'

8th.

' We sailed from *Ascension*, the 8th of April. The men of war designed to take in water at the *Island St. Jago*, but missing the Island, it was determined that they should bear away for *Barbadoes*. Therefore, as I was desirous to get to *England* as soon as possible, I took my passage in the ship *Canterbury*, and on May the 8th, went on board, accompanied by six of my officers, and in that ship we returned to *England*.'

May.

OF the many Voyages performed by Dampier, this in the Roebuck contributed the most to geography, and it seems not amiss to add, that it was the most meritorious of Dampier's undertakings. But as it will frequently happen that merit and visible reward do not go hand in hand, so this of all his voyages was apparently the least beneficial to himself, both in reputation and profit. He dedicated his History of the Voyage of the Roebuck to the Earl of Pembroke by whom he had been employed as a Captain in the British Navy, but who did not at this time preside at the Admiralty. He complains in his dedication 'how much the world is apt to judge of every thing ' by the success, insomuch that whoever has ill fortune will ' hardly be allowed a good name. Such,' he says, ' was ' my unhappiness in my late expedition in the Roebuck, ' which foundered through perfect age at the Island *Ascension*, ' though I comfort myself with the thoughts, that no neglect ' can be charged against me.' His account of that event is clear and full, and leaves no doubt that himself and all the ship's crew exerted their utmost endeavours to save the ship. It was a great error that no better than an old worn-out vessel was provided for so distant and hazardous an employment. To the credit of Dampier it is to be remarked, that although the ship foundered, the purpose of the voyage was not thereby defeated. He fully performed the service on which he was sent, and rendered his account, and both in an able manner.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Voyage of Captain William Dampier to the South Sea, with the Ships St. George and Cinque Ports Galley.*

PART II.  
1703.

WITHIN two months after the death of William the III<sup>d</sup>, the war against *France* and *Spain* on account of the Spanish succession broke out ; upon which event, some English merchants entered into partnership to fit out two ships as privateers to cruise against the Spaniards in the *South Sea*, and they engaged Captain Dampier to take the command of this enterprize. The largest of the two ships was named the *Saint George*, mounted 26 guns, and had a complement of 120 men ; the other ship was named the *Cinque Ports Galley*, had 16 guns mounted, and 63 men, and was commanded by Charles Pickering.

Chart by  
Gu. de  
Lisle.

The Spanish ports in the *South Sea* were at this time open to the French, who were the more welcome in all the Spanish Settlements, from the apprehensions entertained of visits being made them by the British and Dutch. During the whole of this war, the French pursued their commerce in the *South Sea* with great eagerness. What ships from *France* first went to *Chili* and *Peru* after Philip of *Anjou* succeeded to the Spanish Crown cannot be specified ; but there is evidence of French ships being in the *South Sea* before and at the time the *Saint George* and *Cinque Ports* arrived there, although the names of the ships or of their Commanders are not known. In 1703, Guillaume de Lisle published a Chart of the Southern parts of *America*, apparently composed in part on information then recently received, though he has not explained whence. In the western part of the *Strait of Magalhanes*, as represented in this Chart, is drawn another passage to the *South Sea* branching Southward

Southward from the main *Strait* through the *Tierra del Fuego*, which M. de Lisle has distinguished with the following notice, ' *Detroit nommé Jelouchté par ceux du pays.*' i. e. ' *Strait named Jelouchté by the people of the Country.*'

CHAP. 3.  
1703.  
Strait  
named  
Jelouchté.

The only Narrative which has been published of the Voyage of the Saint George and Cinque Ports, was not written by Dampier, but by a person named William Funnel, who went out as his Steward, and was afterwards made Midshipman.

Captain Dampier sailed from the *Downs* in the Saint George on the 30th of April, 1703, victualled for nine months, and about the middle of May anchored at *Kinsale*, where he was joined by the Cinque Ports Galley. Here the two ships remained till September; the cause of which long stoppage Funnel has not related.

The compact or agreement between the ship's companies and the owners, Funnel shortly expresses by the phrase ' No purchase no pay ; ' the meaning of which is, that the seamen were not to receive regular wages, and if they obtained nothing for the owners, there would be nothing for themselves. ' The plan ' proposed for our proceedings,' Funnel says, ' was that we ' should go into the *River de la Plata* to *Buenos Ayres*, and ' there take two or three Spanish galleons, and if in so doing ' we should get to the value of 600,000 *l.* we were to seek no ' farther, but to return to *England*; but if we missed of such ' success, we were to proceed to cruise on the coast of *Peru.*'

On the 11th of September, the two ships sailed from *Kinsale*.

September.

October the 7th, they anchored at *Porto Praya*, in the *Island St. Jago*. Here, upon some disagreement among the officers, Captain Dampier discharged his first lieutenant. Funnel says, he turned the lieutenant on shore; which statement was afterwards denied by Captain Dampier, who says, ' There was no disagreement between me and Lieutenant ' Huxford;

October.  
At Porto  
Praya.

## PART II.

1703.

‘ Huxford ; but he and Mr. Morgan, Purser and Agent for the Owners, fought ; and Morgan said if Huxford sailed with us, he would not go the voyage. Upon which, I ordered him to Captain Pickering’s ship, whose boat with Lieutenant Stradling was then on board our ship : but it happened otherwise, for instead of carrying him to the Cinque Ports Galley, he (Stradling) and Huxford disagreed after they were gone from me, and Stradling put him on board a Portugal merchant ship.’

November.  
Isla  
Grande.

October the 13th, they sailed from *St. Jago*. In November they anchored at *Isla Grande* on the coast of *Brasil*, where Captain Pickering died, and was succeeded in the command of the Cinque Ports Galley by Thomas Stradling the lieutenant.

December.

Here, another quarrel happened on board the *Saint George*, in which Morgan the Supercargo was again principally concerned ; and Mr. James Barnaby, another of Dampier’s lieutenants, and eight of the seamen, quitted the ship and went on shore. December the 8th, the two ships sailed from *Isla Grande* ; and Funnel relates, notwithstanding what he had just before stated to be the plan of the expedition, and without making any remark on the change, that they departed from *Isla Grande* ‘ not intending to touch at any place till their arrival at *Juan Fernandez*.’

To narrate Dampier’s Voyage in the *Saint George* could not have fallen into much worse hands than those of Funnel. Besides being extremely ignorant, he was void of regard or respect for veracity. He says, ‘ On the 29th of this month (December) we saw the Islands *Sibbil de Wards* ;’ which was an impudent falsehood put in practice by Funnel for the purpose of introducing a string of pretended observations, and claiming from them the merit of having corrected the situations of those Islands, which in fact were not at all seen in the voyage of the *Saint George*. Captain Dampier thought it  
necessary

necessary to publish a contradiction of some of the misrepresentations in Funnell's account of the Voyage ; and among them this concerning the *Sibbil de Wards*. CHAP. 8.  
1704.

In getting round *Cape Horne* the two ships were separated, but they met again at *Juan Fernandez*, where the Cinque Ports anchored on the 7th of February, as did the Saint George on the 10th. Here the ships were refitted, and the crews refreshed. February.  
At Juan  
Fernandez.

This voyage was, in an extraordinary degree, one of dispute and quarrel. Whilst the ships lay at *Juan Fernandez*, Captain Stradling and his ship's company disagreed, and 42 of his men went on shore, where they continued in a state of discontent and disobedience two days, when, by the interposition of Captain Dampier, a reconciliation was effected.

Notwithstanding the pains which had been formerly taken by the Spaniards to destroy the goats on *Juan Fernandez*, there were many at this time on the Island, especially in the Western part, where was the best pasturage. Funnell says that he had heard of dogs being put on the Island to destroy the goats, but he did not see any there. There were many cats of a beautiful colour, and the seals of *Juan Fernandez* he remarks had the finest fur, next to the sable, that he ever saw.

The 29th of February, about noon, a strange sail was seen standing towards the Island, and at no great distance. The two English ships got their topmasts up in all haste, and slipped their cables, each leaving a boat fastened to their moorings, and with another boat in tow, they made all sail after the strange vessel, which, on seeing them under sail, tacked and stood away from the Island. In this chase, the Saint George towed her pinnace under water, and was obliged to cast her loose. From the Cinque Port's Galley likewise, the boat which they had taken in tow, with a man and a dog in her, broke adrift.

In the middle of the night they got near enough to the ship  
VOL. IV. 3 K chased,



## PART II.

1704.

March.  
1st.  
Engage-  
ment with a  
French  
Ship.

chased, to find that she was French and well manned. They judged her to be about 400 tons burthen, and to have 30 guns mounted. Dampier acknowledges that on discovering she was a ship from *Europe*, he would willingly have desisted from farther pursuit, which is a mode of mutual accommodation that has not unfrequently been practised by privateers of opposite nations: Dampier's men, however, urged him to attack, and he complied. He did not think it advisable to go into action in the dark, and therefore contented himself with keeping close till daylight, when in the *St. George* he commenced the attack. The *Cinque Ports* early in the engagement fired ten or twelve guns, after which she dropped astern, and did not again come into action, a French account says, for want of wind. The *St. George* continued the engagement some hours, in which both the ships suffered much. The French ship, at length, taking advantage of a light breeze springing up, sheered off, and was allowed to go without being farther pursued.

Near Juan  
Fernandez.

3d.

On board the *St. George* nine men were killed, and many wounded; and another misfortune which would inevitably result from their unsuccessful attack was, that it would give early information to the Spaniards of their arrival in the *South Sea*. For the present, they stood back towards *Juan Fernandez*, where, besides their anchors and boats in the road, they had left on shore many of their water casks, sails, and other stores, and five men of the crew of the *Cinque Ports Galley*, with a negro. On the 3d of March, they again got sight of the Island, bearing South from them, which was directly to windward; and very soon after, they saw two large ships, which in a short time were known to be French, and necessary for them to avoid. The strange ships got near enough to the *Cinque Ports* to fire several shot at her; but by the help of oars she got clear. Dampier did not think his ship, crippled as she was by the late engagement, and the *Cinque Ports Galley*, were a match for

for the enemy, whose ships were reckoned to carry 36 guns each; therefore, without boats, and leaving behind them men, anchors, and stores, he made sail from the Island for the coast of Peru.

CHAP. 8.  
1704.  
March.

They ran to the Northward, keeping the land in sight, but at a distance which would prevent themselves from being discovered from the shore; and in the day time, they took in their sails, Dampier's intention being to lie in wait for ships going into or coming out of the *Road of Callao*. In the night of the 22d, they were set so near to the rocks called *las Hormigas* (Ants) that they had some difficulty to get clear. Funnell says, 'these rocks bear from each other NNW and SSE, and are distant from the Island of the Port of *Callao* about eight leagues. They are large rocks, and in the middle of them are some bays where it is said abundance of good fish are caught, and fishermen come here to make sea-fish oil.'

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

22d.  
Las Hormi-  
gas Rocks.

On the 23d, they saw two sail, to which they gave chase. One of them they perceived to be the French ship they had lately fought: the other vessel was in company with her and not so large. It was debated whether to attack them or not, and in the mean time the French ships went on for *Callao Road*, which they reached without obstruction.

It was not safe for the English ships to remain in the neighbourhood of *Callao*, and they sailed on Northward. The 24th they took a Spanish ship laden with cloths, tobacco, pitch, tar, sundry other goods, and 'a pretty good sum of money.' The 31st, they made prize of another ship laden with indigo and other merchandise. Both these vessels they dismissed after taking their boats and as much of the cargoes as suited their present occasions; for gold and silver being the objects at which they aimed, they were not willing to be encumbered with other commodities.

24th

31st.

April the 11th, they were near the *Island Gallo*, which has three hummocks with low land between. They took here a bark

Island  
Gallo.

**PART II.** of fifty tons, laden with plank and turtle-shell. The crew  
 1704. escaped in their boat; and Dampier fitted the vessel up as a  
 April. tender.

12th. The 12th, they anchored near the NW part of *Gallo*, in 35 fathoms, hard sand, a quarter of a mile from the shore. They found fresh water here at a small gap, over which upon a hill was a spot of red earth. On the NE side of the Island was reckoned the best anchorage; and near that part are three smaller Islands or rather rocks. *Gallo* produces large timber. The tide rises and falls there 14 or 15 feet\*.

17th. On the 17th, as they sailed from *Gallo*, they took a small Spanish vessel commanded by a Guernsey man, who had lived many years among the Spaniards in *Peru*, but now entered with Dampier. The 25th, they anchored near the *Gulf de San Miguel*. Funnel says, 'it is necessary to be careful in going  
 In the Bay of Panama. 'this way into the Bay of Panama on account of a shoal of  
 'sand that lies midway between *Point Garachina* and the Island  
 'Galera, on which many ships have been lost. It is likewise  
 'sometimes dangerous to sail between *Galera* and the King's  
 'or *Pearl Islands*, for many rocks are there.'

27th. On the 27th, Captains Dampier and Stradling, with 102 of their men, embarked in the tender and three Spanish lanches for the town of *Santa Maria*, which it was their intention to surprise. At eight in the evening, the tide of ebb making strong, they anchored. They had a wet and stormy night; and

28th. at daylight the next morning, the ebb tide had not done running, when a canoe, in which were five Indians, came near enough to demand who they were and whence. An Indian pilot who had been made prisoner, by Captain Dampier's direction answered 'from *Panama*,' and desired them to come on board; but the Indians in the canoe said they would not; upon which, some of the English seamen, without being ordered, fired at them. The canoe made off, and was pursued, but could

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\* Funnel's Narrative, p. 23.

could not be overtaken. The Spaniards at *Santa Maria* by this means became apprised of the approach of an enemy. Afterwards, as the English went up the river, they were fired upon from the thickets. One Englishman was killed, and several wounded; and as surprising the town was now out of the question, and it was to be expected that the Spaniards having so much notice would be able to remove every thing of value, the enterprise was given up, and it was determined to return to the ships. Some apprehensions had begun to be entertained of a scarcity of provisions. Their original stock was only for nine months, and it is to be supposed that they sailed from *Kinsale* with their stock completed up for that time; but they had been out eight months, with little opportunity to save or to recruit. Near the entrance of the river *Santa Maria* was a small town at which Dampier and Stradling landed without meeting resistance, and found there a good quantity of provisions, as fowls, maize, and potatoes; and on May the 6th, in the middle of the night, a large Spanish ship, without any suspicion of an enemy being on the coast, anchored close to the English ships, who immediately made prize of her. She was deep laden with flour, sugar, brandy, wine, salt, and 30 tons of marmalade. They went with their prize to the West side of the *Bay of Panama*, and both the ships fully victualled themselves from her cargo, after which she was dismissed, Funnel thinks without having been sufficiently searched, for he says it was reported by some of the prisoners that money was secreted in the bottom of her hold.

The two Commanders, Dampier and Stradling, did not agree on the plan of their future cruising, and therefore determined to part company. Liberty was given to the crews to choose their ship, and five men changed from each. On the 19th, Captain Dampier in the *St. George*, sailed for the coast of *Peru*, leaving the Cinque Ports Galley in the *Bay of Panama*.

CHAP. 8.  
1704.  
In the Bay  
of Panama.

May.

19th.  
The Saint  
George and  
Cinque  
Ports part  
company.

The

## PART II.

1704.  
Captain  
Dampier,  
in the  
St George.  
June.

The St. George beat up to the Southward against Southerly winds. On the 7th of June, she took a small vessel bound for *Panama*, with a cargo of provisions, and some wrought silk. Letters were found in her giving information that the boat with the man and dog, which had broken adrift from the Cinque Ports Galley near *Juan Fernandez*, had been picked up at sea by the French, who had also taken away the stores, and three of the seamen left on the Island from Stradling's ship.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.  
July.

Dampier captured but few vessels on the coast of *Peru*, and none of great value. After plundering them of what was thought worth taking, he released them. On July the 21st, near Point *S<sup>ra</sup> Elena*, he fell in with a Spanish ship of war of 32 guns, with whom he exchanged some shot at a distance, without much damage to either ship, and after dark, they separated. The 28th, the St. George anchored in a bay, about three leagues to the ENE of *Point de la Galera* which is on the North side of *Cape San Francisco*. *Point de la Galera*, is low towards the sea, with plain even ground on the top. A shoal lies near it, 'full of rocks and stones, and hid under water,' which makes it necessary not to approach within a mile of the point \*. Where they anchored, the depth was six fathoms.

Bay de  
Atacames.

Point  
Galera.

Captain Dampier sent a boat on shore to look for provisions at a village, but the inhabitants carried off every thing, and drove away the cattle. In a river here, however, Dampier's men took a small vessel laden with plantains. Funnel says, eight leagues to the Northward of this bay, is the *Bay of St. Matthew*, in which is a river three quarters of a mile wide at the entrance, and navigable; but with no good anchoring ground till you get within the entrance. Funnel has not pretended that he saw this river, and his descriptions are not to be trusted without great caution; for this reason many of them are omitted in the present account.

Dampier next sailed Northward, taking with him one of his  
small

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\* *Funnel's Narrative*, p. 38.

small prizes for a tender, and crossing the *Bay of Panama*, arrived about the middle of August in the *Gulf of Nicoya*. Here he laid the ship *St. George* aground, to clean and repair, at a small Island of a closter called by Funnel the *Middle Islands*, because they are situated in the middle of the *Gulf*; and the tender in the mean time was kept cruising without. At the *Middle Islands*, they caught turtle and fish. The best time for catching fish with the seine was at the flood, and in the night rather than in the day. On the Western side of the *Gulf* they found plantain walks, and their tender made prize of a Spanish bark of 40 tons, laden with wine, brandy, and sugar; on board of which also were some Spanish carpenters and caulkers, who were immediately set to work on the repairs of the ship. That she might be got as high aground as possible, all the powder and shot, some of the guns, the bread, and a quantity of flour, were taken out, and put on board this last prize bark. Whilst the ship was thus under repair, on the 2d of September, Captain Dampier and his chief mate, John Clipperton, quarrelled; whereupon Clipperton with twenty-one of the crew seized upon the prize bark in which the ammunition of the ship and part of the provisions were lodged, and taking up her anchor, they sailed without the Islands; whence Clipperton sent a message to the ship, to invite the rest of the company to join him, which invitation was not accepted by any one. The mutineers had consideration enough for their late companions, to land as much of the powder and ammunition as they did not want for their bark, of which they sent notice to Dampier, and having done this, they sailed away from the *Gulf*.

Dampier was extremely unfortunate in his officers and ship's company, which is in part to be attributed to their terms of agreement with the owners, by which they were not entitled to wages. But they were in other respects badly disposed: Dampier says in the *Vindication of his Voyage*,  
 ' Clipperton

CHAP. 3.

1704.

August.

Gulf of  
Nicoya.

September.

Desertion  
of Clipperton  
and  
part of the  
Crew.

- PART II.** ' Clipperton and others, whenever they had opportunity,  
 1704. ' stripped their prisoners; whereas they cannot accuse me of any  
 September. ' thing more than compassionate christian usage to all ranks  
 Coast of ' of men.' Clipperton is likewise accused of robbing Captain  
 New Spain. Dampier of his commission. The crew of the *St. George* was  
 now reduced to 64 men. The bottom of the ship was found  
 much damaged by worms, Funnell says, ' so as to be eaten in  
 many places like a honey-comb, and we could thrust our  
 thumbs through some of the planks. The carpenter was forced  
 to make shift and to stop the leaks as well as he could with nails  
 and oakum.' On the 23d of September, Dampier, with a  
 small prize vessel in company, sailed out of the *Gulf of Nicoya*  
 NWward, with design to cruise for the Manila ship. October  
 October. the 7th, in latitude by observation 13° 7' N, they had sight of  
 Volcanos of the two high mountains of *Guatemala*, the Southern of which  
 Guatemala. is the highest, and is called the *Mountain of Water*, it having  
 thrown out water in such quantity as at one time to drown the  
 City of *Guatemala*. This, Funnell relates, and also that some  
 natives of *Guatemala* affirmed to him of the Northern Mountain  
 or *Volcan of Fire*, that it had thrown out stones as big as a  
 house. All which is said of the Mountains of *Guatemala* in  
*Gage's Survey of the Spanish West Indies*, p. 275 & seq.
- 9th. On the 9th, they took a small vessel laden with provisions,  
 the master of which, Christian Martin, was a native of the  
*Canary Islands*, and had been gunner in Eaton's ship, from  
 which he deserted at the Island *Gorgona*. There, after Eaton's  
 departure, he made himself a catamaran by fastening two trees  
 together with small twigs. He fixed a mast, made a sail of a  
 shirt, and filled a bag with oysters; and so provided, sailed  
 over to the Continent.
- 20th. The 20th, they were near the *Bay of Tecuantepeque*, the land  
 Bay of about which is low, and full of little hills.  
 Tecuante-  
 peque.
- November. November the 11th, they where near four small white Islands  
 11th. which lay close together; East of which, about two miles dis-  
 tant, is a large hummock on the main. Here was a village of  
 about



about forty houses, which Funnel calls *Suvarthaneo*, in latitude 17° 40' N. They anchored off the village in 14 fathoms, about a pistol-shot distant from the shore; and a party of men landed, who found sixteen sacks of flour. Two boat loads of fresh water were taken, but the sea ran high and upset the boats. Dampier's men would have set fire to the village, but he being on shore would not suffer it to be done.

CHAP. 8.  
1704.  
November.  
Coast of  
New Spain.  
*Suvarthaneo*.

The 22d, the ship anchored 'in the Bay of Martaba, under the mountains called *Motines*, which are a ridge extending along the coast 25 leagues.' In the Bay of Martaba they watered at a small river, and found there a number of large green turtle.

22d.  
*Motines*  
Mountains.  
Bay of  
Martaba.

On the 26th, they chased and took a small bark from California, with a cargo of plank, and some parcels of pearls. 'To the North-westward of the Bay of Martaba five or six leagues, is broken ground which looks like an Island, and is called *Chasipi*. On its SE side is a small valley of white sand, called the Valley of Maguille. At the Point of *Chasipi* the *Motines* end\*.'

Point  
*Chasipi*.

'NWward of Point *Chasipi* the coast is plain even land, and well planted with cocoa-nut trees. Two or three leagues NWward of these trees is some broken ground, and at the end of the broken ground stands the *Volcano of Colima*†.'

December the 4th, they took a small vessel near Port de *Navidad* laden with ammunition, which was supposed to have been intended for a supply to the Manila ship: and on the 6th, being in sight of the *Volcano de Colima*, they saw a sail, which proved to be the galeon from Manila. They soon got along side of her, for she had no suspicion of an enemy being on the coast, and was so unprepared for battle, that the St. George fired several broadsides into her before she could get her guns clear. The number of guns in the Manila ship is not

December.  
The Saint  
George  
engages the  
Manila  
Galeon.

\* Funnel's Narrative, p. 54.

† Ibid.



## PART II.

1704.

December.

Coast of  
New Spain.Is beaten  
off.

not mentioned, but they carried shot of 18 and 24 lbs. weight, whereas the guns of the *St. George* were only five pounders. Some of the *St. George's* crew proposed to board the galeon, whilst others thought it too desperate to attempt, and it is probable that she had more than four times their number of men. When the guns of the galeon were clear, the *St. George* was not able to lay along side of her, for from her decayed state, the shot of the galeon drove in large pieces of her plank, and one shot which struck her near the stem and by the water's edge, forced in two feet of the plank, which obliged Dampier to sheer off to save his own ship from sinking; and the galeon pursued her course.

After this disappointment, Captain Dampier and his men agreed to cruise six weeks longer on the coast of *New Spain*, and then to sail for the *East Indies*.

1705.  
January.  
Extraordi-  
nary quan-  
tity of Fish.

They stood along the coast Eastward, towards the *Bay of Amapalla*, intending to water there and refit. On January the 5th, Funnel relates, they fell in with such a multitude of fish that in half an hour's time they caught fifty-eight albacores, weighing from 60 to 90 lbs. each; and small fish about the size of sprats, were in such quantities about the ship, that by putting a bucket overboard, sixteen or twenty were drawn up at a time.

26th.  
In the Bay  
of  
Amapalla.Separation  
of  
Dampier's  
Crew.

The 26th, they anchored in *Amapalla Bay*. Captain Dampier wished to try his fortune longer in the *South Sea*, but more than half the crew were otherwise inclined. With the people who were willing to remain, however, he determined to continue with the *St. George* on the American coast. The prize bark, which was a brigantine of about 70 tons burthen, was given up to those who were for going to *India*. Division was made of the stores and provisions, and four guns, with small arms and ammunition, were put into the brigantine, in which 34 men and a negro boy, embarked. William Funnel was of the party for the *East Indies*.

Both

Both the vessels watered from a pond of rain-water which they found at a small Island in the bay, named *Conchagua*, situated within the *Island Mangera*. This pond was behind a hill, and to lessen the labour of carriage, the water, after being taken in kegs and buckets to the top of the hill, was conveyed thence to the landing-place by a canvas pipe 90 fathoms long, which they made for the purpose. The water was muddy, and had duck-weed on the top of it, such as is usually in standing water in *England*. At first they raked the duck-weed away; 'but our 'doctor,' says Funnel, 'persuaded us that the weeds would 'mightily preserve the water; and according to his advice we 'took up weeds and water together.' They found plantain walks on the Islands in the bay, from which they furnished themselves with a good stock.

CHAP. 3.

1705.

January.

Amapalla Bay.

Among Funnel's extraordinary descriptions is one of a fish which he says they caught in *Amapalla Bay*, called by the natives *Ceawau*, which he describes to be four feet long, and, according to a drawing he has given of it, spirally twisted so as to shew five complete revolutions between the head and the tail.

Funnel's description of the *Ceawau*.

Two more of Dampier's men left him to go in the brigantine, which reduced his company to twenty-nine. The brigantine sailed from *Amapalla Bay* on the 1st of February, for the *East Indies*; and Dampier, after refitting his ship as well as he was able, sailed for the coast of *Peru*. Little is known of this part of his voyage. He and his small crew plundered the town of *Puna*; they continued cruising along the coast till the ship was in too decayed a condition to keep the sea, and at length they all embarked on board a brigantine which they had taken from the Spaniards, and left their old ship the *St. George* riding at her anchor at the small Isles called *Lobos de la Mar*. Not long afterwards, they sailed in the brigantine to the *East Indies*, where Captain Dampier not being able to produce

February.

The Saint George abandoned.

PART II. his commission, his vessel and goods were seized by the Dutch,  
 1705. and himself for a time kept prisoner\*.

February.

Funnel  
 from the  
 Coast of  
 New Spain  
 to the  
 East Indies.

Funnel and his companions sailed from the coast of *America* scantily furnished with provisions. The first twenty days of their passage they fed upon fish, turtle, and plantains. When these were expended, the allowance of provisions, which they proportioned to their store, was to each man half a pound of flour *per* day, and two ounces of salt meat.

April.  
 At the  
 Ladrone  
 Islands.

They made the *Ladrone Islands* on the 11th of April, and lay to near the South end of the Island *Zarpana* (which Funnel calls *Magon*) whilst the natives in their canoes brought to them fish, eggs, yams, and other refreshments, which they exchanged for tobacco and old linen.

An Island.

From *Zarpana*, which is the Island next to the Northward of *Guahan*, they steered SW, with a fresh gale at ENE, and on the 17th, saw a high Island bearing E b N distant 10 leagues; whether inhabited or not, they did not see. Thence they steered SSW to latitude 5° N, when the wind veered round to the SE; and in latitude 4° N they had a calm for seven days.

May.

6th.

The Guedes  
 Islands.

On the night of the 5th of May, a light breeze brought with it great fragrance, and the next morning they saw three small low Islands. The Easternmost of the three was in latitude (by their observation) 0° 42' N. These Islands were full of inhabitants, and a ledge of rocks ran from one Island to another. The brigantine being near the Westernmost, which is the biggest of the three, about 40 or 50 canoes, or proes, came off, in which Funnel thinks were about 450 men, and multitudes of people were seen on the shore. The canoes stopped at some distance, and from mutual distrust no intercourse other than of

signs

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\* *Voyage by Captain Woodes Rogers*, p. 149, 150. And *Voyage by Geo. Shelvocke*, p. 179. Woodes Rogers says Dampier lost his commission at *Puna*. Shelvocke accuses Clipperton of having taken it.

signs took place. ‘ All the three Islands were low, flat, and full  
 ‘ of trees. The inhabitants were a large strong-boned people;  
 ‘ they had long, black, strait hair, which reached down to  
 ‘ their middle, and they were stark naked.’

CHAP. 8.

1705.

May.

A current was observed here setting Northward, and the same had been experienced during the whole of their run thus far from the *Ladrone Islands*. They remained near the three Islands a part of the 7th, and steered thence SW, with a fresh gale from the East. The next morning they made the land of *New Guinea*. The three low Islands seen it is probable were the *Guedes*, which were discovered by Grijalva and Alvarado in 1537, and the same which in the present charts are named *Joseph Freewill's Islands* \*.

8th.

The 9th, they were well in with the coast of *New Guinea*; which at this part was rocky, and the land full of high hills, and seemed very barren. They saw no appearance of harbour, nor of inhabitants. The same day they came abreast of two small low Islands, clothed with small trees, the largest not above a league in length; and at the same time they saw high land which they supposed to be a part of the Island *Gilolo*, bearing West, distant by their estimation about eight leagues, but which was probably the Island *Waigeu*. The two low Islands which they saw near the land of *New Guinea*, were also seen this same year, 1705, by Hollanders sent to examine this part of *New Guinea*, and are marked with the names *Amsterdam* and *Middleburgh*, in a Dutch chart intended to shew the discoveries made in that voyage.

9th.  
Coast of  
New  
Guinea.

Variable winds, with thick rainy weather, prevented the brigantine from keeping the coast of *New Guinea* constantly in sight. On the 11th, they found themselves amongst a great number of Islands, which made them apprehensive they would  
 not

11th.

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\* In a sketch of *Joseph Freewill's Islands* which was made by a native Islander, and is given in Captain Carteret's Voyage, the Northernmost appears the largest of the three.

## PART II.

1705.

May.

Coast of  
New  
Guinea.  
12th.Strait by  
the NW of  
New  
Guinea.Is named  
St. John's  
Strait.

not be able to find the passage by which ships most usually sailed between *New Guinea* and *Gilolo*, and they concluded on seeking for a passage to the Southward amongst these Islands. They were mostly of a good height and clothed with trees, and fires of the inhabitants were seen. On the morning of the 12th, Funnel says, ' We now proceeded Westward, with fair weather ' and a NE wind, and at the same time had a strong tide ' setting Westward. About eight in the morning we shot in ' between two high headlands, which were distant from each ' other near two miles. Some of us went to the mast-head ' to look if there was a clear passage through, and we saw no ' let or hindrance ; so the vessel was got through by two in the ' afternoon. This passage was in length about seven leagues, ' and about two miles broad. We could find no anchoring ' ground in it till within a ship's length of the shore, and there ' the depth was 30 fathoms. In the afternoon, it fell calm, and ' the tide then setting Eastward, carried our vessel into the ' Strait, half way back again, and sometimes drove her so near ' the shore that we kept her off with poles, but she never ' touched the ground, the water being very deep close to the ' shore. A favourable gale springing up, and the tide again ' running Westward, by seven in the evening we got clear ' through and out of this Strait a second time\*.' They had given to their brigantine the name of Saint John, and now they named this Strait after the brigantine, *Saint John's Strait*†.

On the 16th, they made the *Island Ceram*, and on the 28th, anchored at *Amboyna*. The next morning, the Dutch Fiscal, attended by soldiers, made seizure of the vessel and the crew. The vessel, her furniture, and stores, were sold by public auction; and her people were embarked on board the next Dutch fleet bound for *Europe*.

In

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\* *Funnel's Narrative*, p. 163-4.

† According to Lieutenant Mac Cluer's Survey, this *Saint John's Strait* is the Strait nearest to the main-land of *New Guinea*.

In their homeward passage, they stopped at the *Cape of Good Hope*, where they met some of the men who had deserted with Clipperton from the *St. George*, in the *Gulf of Nicoya*. The account they gave to Funnel of their adventures from that time, was, that they took two Spanish ships in the port of *Ria Lera*, one of which they sunk. For the other they received 4000 dollars ransom; and as soon after as they were able to clean and refit their vessel, they sailed for the *East Indies*. They reached the *Philippine Islands* in fifty-four days, and passing through among them, proceeded to *Macao*, where they shared and dispersed.

CHAP. 8.  
Of  
Clipperton.

It was most probably in this passage made by Clipperton from *New Spain*, that he discovered the Island or Rock which was named after him, and which was noticed in the charts so early as to have place in that designed by Herman Moll for shewing the boundary-line of the South Sea Company's privileges. It is there laid down in latitude 10° 20' N, and about half a degree in longitude East of the meridian of *Cape San Lucas*. It is said to have been since seen by one of the fur traders on the North West coast of *America*, and its situation to have been found very nearly as was before assigned.

Clipperton's Isle.

Funnel and most of his companions arrived in the *Texel* in July 1706, and in *England* on the 26th of the month following.

To conclude the history of this voyage, some account remains to be given of the *Cinque Ports Galley* commanded by Thomas Stradling, after his separating from Captain Dampier in the *Bay of Panama* in May 1704. In October the same year, the *Cinque Ports* anchored at *Juan Fernandez*, where Stradling found two of the seamen left by him when his ship was chased from the Island by the French. These two men had kept themselves concealed from the French, and they now returned on board their own ship.

Of the  
Cinque  
Ports  
Galley.

Notwithstanding the many and violent quarrels which had already happened in the course of the voyage of the *St. George* and

PART II.

Alexander  
Selkirk  
landed on  
Juan  
Fernandez ;

And left  
there,  
October  
1704.

Publication  
of a Fourth  
Volume to  
Dampier's  
Voyages.

and Cinque Ports Galley, one was added to the number here, more extraordinary both in circumstance and consequence than any which preceded it. Whilst the Cinque Ports lay at *Juan Fernandez* on this her second visit to the Island, Captain Stradling had some disagreement with the master of the ship, Alexander Selkirk, who, in the first heat of his dissatisfaction, demanded to be landed, preferring to be left on a desert Island to remaining longer under the command of Stradling. His desire was complied with, and he was set on shore with his clothes, bedding, a firelock, one pound of gunpowder, a hatchet, cooking utensils, some tobacco, and his books.

Before the ship departed, however, Selkirk changed his mind, and desired to return on board ; but Stradling refused him admittance into the ship, and sailed away, leaving him on the Island.

Stradling cruised afterwards on the coast of *Peru*, till his ship, the Cinque Ports, became so leaky that he and his crew were obliged to run her ashore near the *Island Gorgona*, and to surrender themselves prisoners to the Spaniards. Stradling, after many years captivity, made his escape on board a French ship\*.

Funnel arrived in *England* before Captain Dampier, and seized on the opportunity to compose a relation of the voyage, a task for which he was ill qualified, and which he performed with disadvantage to the public. Funnel's Narrative was published in 1707, by Knapton the bookseller, who being the publisher of three volumes of the Voyages of Dampier drawn up from his own manuscript journals, should have distinguished the difference, and not have obtruded Funnel's Narrative into the same collection ; but he was tempted by the favourable reception of the former volumes, and to render his new volume of size suitable to the first three, he inserted in it republications of other Voyages. The public were thus furnished with a fourth

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\* *Voyage of Captain Woodes Rogers*, 2d edit. pp. 333 & 337.

fourth volume to *Dampier's Voyages*, which contains not a word of Dampier's writing; but much that he disapproved. CHAP. 8.

Soon after its appearance, Dampier published a small memoir with the title of *Captain Dampier's Vindication of his Voyage in the Ship Saint George; with some small Observations for the present on Mr. Funnel's chimerical Relation*. (London, 1707.) In this *Vindication*, which does not occupy more than a single sheet, Dampier points out several misrepresentations made by Funnel, and accuses him of having pirated from charts and papers with which he had been entrusted, but of which, Dampier says, he afterwards rendered a very slender account, pretending that some of them were lost.

Funnel's Narrative must now be allowed to retain its rank as fourth volume of *Dampier's Voyages*, as no other authentic account of that Voyage has appeared or can be expected to appear. The volume however, would be better naturalised if it were made to include *Captain Dampier's Vindication of his Voyage*.



## C H A P. IX.

1703 to 1708.—*Voyages of the Dutch for the farther Discovery of New Holland and New Guinea. Navigations of the French to the South Sea.*

PART II.  
1705.

THE Dutch Company's government at *Batavia*, in the year 1705, fitted out two separate Expeditions for the purpose of increasing their knowledge of *New Guinea*, and of the North coast of *New Holland*; of which voyages some particulars are related in a book of Miscellaneous Observations published by M. Nicolas Struyck, and it appears that one, if not both, of the expeditions found entrance into the *Pacific Ocean*.

Voyage of  
the Dutch  
to the  
North  
Coast of  
New  
Holland.

On the 1st of March, the Flyboat Vossenbosch, the Sloop Waijer, and a country vessel named the *Nova Hollandia*, departed from *Timor* for the coast of *New Holland*. In their route thither they saw some rocks above water. In  $11^{\circ} 52' S$  latitude, and four degrees to the East of the Eastern point of *Timor*, they saw the West side of *New Holland*. They then directed their course Northward, and passed a point, before which lay a reef above water, which extended outward into the sea five German miles. Struyck adds, 'Their farther sailing was towards the East side, along the coast of *New Holland*\*, carefully noting every thing, except a Gulf, to the end or bottom of which they did not quite go. I have myself seen a chart drawn of this their discovery.'

The gulf of which they did not discover the bottom, was either the *Gulf of Carpentaria* or some deep bay in *Arnhem's Land*; but how far their examination extended Eastward does not appear.

The

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\* *Beschryving der Staartsterren, en andere aan-merkingen*, p. 163, in Chapter entitled *Nieuwe Geographische Ontdekkingen*, i. e. *New Geographical Discoveries*. The words are 'Verder was hunne Zeilogie naar de Oostzyde, langs de Kusten van *Nova Hollandia*.'

The other Expedition of discovery of the Hollanders in the same year, was made by a yacht named the *Geelvink* in company with an East-Indian built vessel called a *Patsjalling*, which went to the North coast of *New Guinea*, in which they discovered a great and deep bay, opposite to, or lying to the South and SSW from, *William Schouten's Island*. The width of this bay at the outer points was above 50 leagues, and the depth Southward not less. A chart published by Mr. Dalrymple in his *Collection of Plans*, from a Dutch manuscript chart, furnishes the best account given of this discovery, the places where the vessels anchored, where they took fresh water, and other particulars, being marked on the chart.

CHAP. 9.

1705.

Voyage  
of the  
*Geelvink*  
to New  
Guinea.

At a *Negary* or Negroe village in the bottom of the *Great Bay*, behind a green level point where fresh water was found, a Dutch seaman belonging to the *Patsjalling* was shot dead with an arrow by the natives. Two other Dutch seamen were killed by the natives near a mountain which the Hollanders named *Kleine Kerkberg*, or *Little Church Mountain*. Whether these acts were committed in consequence of any previous quarrel, or proceeded from the natural disposition of the natives to mischief, is not related; but in a bay near another mountain to which was given the name of *Groote Kerkberg*, or the *Great Church Mountain*, the Hollanders seized on five of the natives and carried them on board their vessels; and afterwards, at a village named *Jobie*, on a long Island near the Eastern point of the *Great Bay*, they made a similar seizure of four men and three women. Two of the men escaped, and some women were set at liberty.

The outer point of the *Great Bay* on the Eastern side, was named after the *Geelvink*; near which point three rivers or runs of fresh water were remarked.

N. Struyck published in his book a chart intended to shew all that was then known of the NW part of *New Guinea*. In this chart are laid down four straits or passages between the

Straits  
between  
*Waageeuw*  
and New  
Guinea.

PART II. Island *Waigeeuw* and the main of *New Guinea*. The same  
1705-6. straits are in Mr. Dalrymple's plans from a Dutch manuscript,  
with soundings and anchorages marked, which are not in  
Struyck's chart.

Natives of  
New  
Guinea. Corneille le Brun, the traveller and painter, relates that in  
in February 1706, he was at *Batavia*, and saw there four men,  
whom he calls *habitans du sud*; 'which men with two or three  
' women, the vessel named the *Pinçon jaune*, had brought from  
' the South coast.' Le Brun seems to have taken them for  
natives of *New Holland*; but the name of the vessel (*Pinçon*  
*jaune* being intended as a translation of *Geelvink*, which signi-  
fies the bird we call the Yellow-hammer) shews that they were  
the natives seized by the *Geelvink*. He says, 'These savages  
to the number of six, were carried to *Batavia*, where two were  
kept, and four were employed on board the ships of the Dutch  
Company, that they might learn the Dutch language, by which  
means it was hoped some knowledge would be gained concern-  
ing their country, and they be made useful in any future expe-  
dition thither\*.' Le Brun made a drawing of one of these people,  
who appears to have been a negro of very indifferent figure and  
countenance. He is represented with a bow and arrows, and  
his dress is simply a cloth round his middle, with bracelets on  
one arm and on one ankle. Le Brun says, they have arrows  
with many barbs, which make the wounds inflicted by them  
dangerous; but the arrows are light and do not go far. Some  
of these men were sent to *Holland*.

The accounts which can be given of the navigations of the  
French at this time are mostly furnished from accidental  
notices. During the war of the Spanish Succession, the English  
made two voyages to the *South Sea*, and copious accounts of  
each were published. The *South Sea Voyages* of the French  
within

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\* *Voyages de Corneille Le Brun*, Tom. II, p. 338. Amst. 1718.

within the same period were without number, and of the whole not more than two regular journals were published. CHAP. 9.

In 1703, so late in the year as December the 26th, the two French ships *St. Charles* and *Murinet* (tonnage and number of men not specified) commanded by M. M. Coudrai Perée and Fouquet, departed from *St. Malo* intended for *China* and the *East Indies* by the way of the *South Sea*. In three months navigation, they arrived at the *Strait of Magalhães*, and anchored in a Bay near the *Bay de San Gregorio*, where they lay long enough to recruit their stock of water; but a gale of wind came upon them so impetuously, that four of their cables parted, and they lost two anchors. This determined the commanders not to expend time in waiting in the *Strait* for favourable winds, but to sail for the *Strait le Maire*. On the 13th of April, after having been fifteen days in the *Strait*, they repassed the Eastern entrance. They made their passage round *Cape Horne* very speedily for the time of the year, and arrived at *La Concepcion* in *Chili* about the middle of May. Le Pere 1703.  
Coudrai  
Perée and  
Fouquet.  
1704.  
Pere Nyel.

Nyel, a French missionary, embarked from *France* on this voyage with Coudrai Perée in the *St. Charles*, intending to go to *China*. A chart drawn by him of the Southern extremity of *America* was noticed in the Voyage of De Beauchesne, and he wrote a short account of his own voyage thus far in a letter addressed to the Rev. P. de la Chaise, Confessor to the French King.

Afterwards, in the same letter (dated May 1705, from *Lima*) it appears that Perée and Fouquet declared their ships not in fit condition to undertake so long a voyage as to *Europe* by the way of *China*, and that it was their intention to return to *France* by the route in which they had come. Pere Nyel and other Missionaries in company with him, being thus left in the middle of their journey, could find no other means of getting to *China* than by going first to *Mexico* and thence to *Acapulco* to take passage to the *Philippines* \*.

Fouquet

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\* *Lettres edif. & curieuses*, Vol. VII, anc. edit. Paris 1707. And *Voyages de Coreal*, Vol. II, p. 338. Paris, 1722.

## PART II.

1703.  
Isles  
D'Anican.

Fouquet and Coudrai Perée, in their return to *Europe*, fell in with *John Davis's Southern Land* near the South entrance of *Falkland Sound*, where are a range of low Islands. Fouquet named them the *Isles of Anican*, after his principal owner\*.

1704.  
Harinton  
and  
Carman.

In 1704, a ship of *St. Malo*, named the *Jaques*, and another French ship named the *St. Pierre*, were in the *Strait of Magalhães*. M. Frezier, who, subsequent to the time here treated of, became a distinguished French voyager, and to whom the public are indebted for the preservation of many curious particulars of the voyages made about this time to the *South Sea*, relates, that 'in July 1704, the people of the *Jaques de St. Malo*, commanded by Harinton, saw seven of the giants in the *Bay de San Gregorio*; and those of the *St. Pierre de Marseilles* commanded by Carman of *St. Malo*, saw six, one among whom was distinguished above the others by his hair being rolled up within a netted cap ornamented with feathers. They wore frocks made of skins, with the hair inwards. They carried quivers full of arrows, some of which they gave to the French sailors. The next day more than 200 of these natives were seen in a body. These people though larger than the other inhabitants of the *Strait*, appeared more sensible of the cold than the smaller people, who wore no other clothing than a single skin thrown over their shoulders.'

1706.  
The  
Maurepas  
and  
St. Louis.

Malouines.

Isles  
Nouvelles.

In 1706, the French ships *Maurepas* and *Saint Louis* sailed homeward from the *South Sea*. The *Saint Louis* put into a harbour in the SE part of *John Davis's Land*, where they found fresh water of a reddish colour and soft, but in other respects good. This harbour they named *Port Saint Louis*. About this time, *John Davis's South Land* began to be distinguished by the name of the *Malouines*, given to them by the seamen of *Saint Malo*, by whom they were most frequently seen. Frezier, however, has added to a list before much crowded, and called the whole of these Islands by the name of *Isles Nouvelles*.

In

\* *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud. Par M. Frezier, Vol. II, p. 510. Edit. Amst. 1717.*

In 1707, Pere Louis Feuillée, a man of much science, who had studied mathematics under Cassini, was employed by the French government to undertake a voyage to the *South Sea* in quality of mathematician and botanist to the French King. He was furnished with the best instruments then in use, and embarked at *Marseilles* in a merchant ship which sailed in December that year for *Chili*. In the passage to *America*, he computed his longitude at sea from an observed distance of the moon from a fixed star. 'June the 26th, 1708, in latitude 5° 15' N, the distance of the moon from *Spica Virginis* was taken with a good cross-staff (*une bonne flèche.*)' The result of this observation differed 48' from the longitude by the reckoning; but no land was seen till a considerable time after the observation, and consequently no judgement could be formed respecting its accuracy.

On arriving at *Valparaiso*, P. Feuillée quitted the ship. He remained in *Peru* and *Chili* till the beginning of 1711, and settled the situations in latitude and longitude of several places on each side of *South America* with a degree of precision that has admitted of very little correction or alteration from later observations. After his return to *France*, he published an account of his labours under the title of *Journal des Observations Physiques, Mathematiques, et Botaniques*. Printed at *Paris*; the 1st and 2d volumes came out in 1714; the 3d some time after.

In July 1708, a ship named l'Assomption, commanded by M. Porée of *St. Malo*, fell in with a land which he believed a new discovery, being by his reckoning 100 leagues to the East of the *Isles Nouvelles*, or *John Davis's South Land*, and he ran along its North coast. Frezier, however, believed that what Porée saw was no other than the *Isles Nouvelles*; and in his chart accordingly, he marked the Northern coast of those Isles as the land of the *Assomption*. Porée saw also a great bank at

CHAP. 9.

1707.

P. Louis  
Feuillée.

1708.

The French  
Ship L'Assomption.

PART II. at a distance, and was doubtful whether it was ice or land: the  
1708. place of the ship is not specified.

Among the ships at this time in the *South Sea*, two, named *la Lune d'Or*, and *la Havre de Grace*, were sold by the French to the Spaniards.

In this year, 1708, two English ships, commanded by Captains Woodes Rogers and Stephen Courtney, sailed from *England* for the *South Sea*, which Voyage will be the subject of the ensuing Chapter. The small proportion which has come into notice of the voyages of the French, may be conceived by what Captain Woodes Rogers says, in an Introduction to the History of his Voyage, i.e. 'there have been in the *South Sea* ' in one year seventeen French ships of war and merchantmen, ' with all sorts of goods; and the advantage they made by it ' was so great, that I was informed by several merchants whom ' we took in those seas, that by a modest computation, the ' French in the first years of that trade carried home above ' 100 millions of dollars.' There is no reason to doubt that the number of ships is correctly stated.

C H A P. X.

*Voyage of the Ships Duke and Dutchess, of Bristol,  
round the World.*

IN 1708, some merchants in *Bristol* fitted out two ships for a voyage to the *South Sea* to cruise against the Spaniards. The largest was of 320 tons burthen, carried 30 guns and 183 men, was named the *Duke*, and commanded by Captain Woodes Rogers. The smaller ship was named the *Dutchess*, her burthen 260 tons, carried 26 guns and 151 men, and was commanded by Captain Stephen Courtney. Each ship had a commission from the Lord High Admiral (Prince George of *Denmark*) to war against the French and Spaniards, and as much merchandise was shipped in each as with their stores and provisions they had room to carry. The instructions given by the owners directed, that the two ships should keep company together during the voyage, that Captain Rogers should have the chief command, but under the direction of a council composed of the principal officers, and the agent of the owners in each ship; and the Second Captain of the *Duke*, Thomas Dover, ‘a Doctor of Physic and Captain of the Marines \*,’ was appointed to be president of the council. An agreement was drawn up between the owners and the ships companies, by which the owners were to be entitled to two-thirds of the clear profits of all prizes and plunder, and one-third was to be divided among the officers and seamen, who however, before subscribing to the agreement, had an option given them to receive wages in lieu of half their share. Landsmen were to have three-fifths of

CHAP. 10.  
1708.

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\* This Doctor Thomas Dover it is said was the inventor of the efficacious medicine known by the name of the Dover Powders.



**PART II.** of the share of an able seaman; but to give an additional  
 1708. appearance of importance to every man's share, the landsman was set down for a share and a half, and the able seaman for two shares and a half; and of the like shares the Captain was to receive twenty-four.

One Narrative of this voyage was written by the Commander, Woodes Rogers, and published in 1712, under the title of *A Cruising Voyage round the World*. Another Narrative was published the same year, of which Edward Cook, Second Captain of the *Dutchess*, was the author. William Dampier, who had so lately commanded in a similar expedition, was in such reduced circumstances as to engage himself in the present in quality of pilot on board the *Duke*.

Departure. The two ships left *Bristol* in August, and put into *Cork Harbour* to complete their provisions and complement of men.  
 September the 1st. On September the 1st, they departed on their voyage. The 18th, near the *Canary Islands*, they took a small Spanish bark with wine and brandy, which they cleared, and afterwards stood in for *Teneriffe*, where they obtained fruit and refreshments in ransom for the bark. They learnt at *Teneriffe* that four large French ships, carrying each from 24 to 50 guns, had stopped there about a month before, in their passage outward bound for the *South Sea*.

Island St. Vincent. The 30th, they anchored at *Saint Vincent*, one of the *Cape de Verde Islands*, in a Bay on the West side of the Island.  
 The Bay. ' *Monk's Rock*, which is like a sugar-loaf, high, round, and  
 ' bold on every side, lies almost in the entrance of this fine  
 ' sandy bay. Care must be taken in going in, not to run too  
 ' near under the high land of the North point, for fear of  
 ' being becalmed, and of sudden flaws; and besides, there  
 ' is a small shoal about three ships' length almost without  
 ' the point. We came to an anchor in 10 fathoms depth, clean  
 ' sand, *Monk's Rock* bearing NW b N, distant three quarters  
 ' of a mile; the North point of the bay, North, a mile dis-  
 ' tant;

‘ tant; and the Westernmost point, West, about two miles \*.’ CHAP. 10.  
1703.  
At *St. Vincent* the ships wooded and watered, and procured by barter, cattle, goats, hogs, fowls, melons, limes, potatoes, and Indian corn. Both Dampier and Woodes Rogers recommend *Saint Vincent* as a better place for ships to stop at than the Island *St. Jago*.

The ships companies were dissatisfied at the distribution made of the cargo of the small prize taken at the *Canaries*. The captors thought themselves entitled to certain light privileges under the denomination of plunder. Captain Rogers held a council on the matter, which determined, that plunder should be allowed to the companies of the *Duke* and *Dutchess* according to the custom in privateers; and that in doubtful cases, the superior officers in conjunction with the owners’ agents should be empowered to decide what was to be accounted plunder.

From *St. Vincent*, they sailed to the coast of *Brasil* and anchored at *Isla Grande*, whence they sailed December the 2d. At Brasil.  
December.

December the 23d, they made *John Davis’s South Land*, which Woodes Rogers calls *Falkland Islands*. The wind was Westerly, and not being able to weather the land, they bore away Eastward, and sailed along the North side, which at three or four leagues distance from shore, appeared to them to abound with woods. The next day they sailed along the East side, but with the wind blowing from the SW, and, says Captain Rogers, who is sometimes at pains to make an unexpected remark, ‘ at six in the evening, we lost sight of the land, and ‘ could not come near enough to see if it was inhabited.’ That same evening, they saw a strange sail to the SE, about four leagues distant. They gave chase, and gained fast on her, but the night being dark, at ten o’clock they lost sight of her. It was

\* Woodes Rogers, p. 24, 25. Edit. 1718; and Edward Cook, Vol. I, p. 13.

**PART II.** was conjectured that she was a homeward-bound ship from the  
 1708. *South Sea*, and Captain Rogers judged the best chance of falling  
 December. in with her again, would be by running Northward till the first  
 dawn of day, and afterwards Westward till full daylight, which  
 25th. was done. At daylight the weather was hazy and no strange  
 vessel was seen, therefore the course Southward was resumed :  
 but between six and seven o'clock, it cleared up and the chase  
 was seen, bearing Sb E, three or four leagues distant. The wind  
 dying away, the ships got out oars, and their boats ahead to  
 tow. In the forenoon, a light breeze sprung up from the North,  
 and they crowded all sail in pursuit. At noon, the latitude by  
 observation, was  $52^{\circ} 40' S$ . The variation of the compass  
 observed nearly at this time was  $24^{\circ} 30'$  Easterly.

At six in the evening, the breeze freshened, and the boats were  
 hoisted in. At ten o'clock, the chase bore SSW per compass :  
 the weather then became foggy, and she could no longer be seen.  
 The English ships stood on [in a SSW direction,] but with  
 shortened sail.

26th. At daylight the next morning there was a thick fog ; but in  
 an hour after, it cleared away, when the chase was again seen  
 to the Southward. ' The wind,' says Captain Rogers, ' soon  
 ' veering ahead, we had disadvantage of the chase. We ran  
 ' at a great rate, but it coming to blow, the chase outbore  
 ' our consort, who was nearest, so she gave off, and came  
 ' down melancholy, to us, supposing the chase to be a French  
 Beauchesne's ' homeward-bound ship from the *South Sea*. At noon we saw  
 Island. ' a little plain low Island, bearing WNW, distant four leagues,  
 ' not marked in any chart.' The ships latitude by Captain  
 Rogers's reckoning was  $53^{\circ} 11' S$ . Edward Cook was in latitude  
*per estimation* that day  $53^{\circ} 45' S$ , and his longitude  $1^{\circ} 2'$  from  
 the SE end of *Falkland's Island*, whether East or West he has  
 not distinguished ; but by the circumstances related of the  
 chase, it may be concluded to have been West. The two ships  
 were at one time so near the low Island, that they tacked on  
 account

account of not being able to weather it. There appears no reason against supposing this Island to be the same which M. de Beauchesne discovered a few years before; and it is something strange that no supposition of the kind should have occurred to Captain Rogers, who was so well acquainted with Beauchesne's discovery as to insert an account of it in the Narrative of his own Voyage. It is worth remarking that it was a single Island which was seen by Woodes Rogers, agreeing with the account given of M. de Beauchesne's discovery.

The Duke and Dutchess made their passage round *Cape Horne* at a great distance, and were at one time as far South as 62°. They afterwards had sight of the American coast in latitude 47°, and on the 31st of January, at seven in the morning, they made the Island *Juan Fernandez*, bearing WSW. At two in the afternoon, being then four leagues distant, the Duke's pinnace was hoisted out and manned, and Captain Dover put off in her for the shore, to look for provisions. The crew had to row against the wind, and before they could reach the land, the dusk of the evening came on, when a fire was seen lighted on the shore, whence it was concluded that some ship or ships were at anchor in the road. Captain Rogers therefore, with lights and with firing of guns made signals for the pinnace to return on board; which, however, those in her had begun to do of their own accord. In the night every preparation was made for engagement, and at daylight the ships stood in towards the land, but no strange ship was seen. About noon, Captain Dover was sent in the yawl to reconnoitre, it being apprehended that the Spaniards had a garrison here.

1709.  
January.  
At Juan  
Fernandez.

February  
1st.

As the yawl drew near, a man was seen on the shore waving a white flag; and on her nearer approach, he called to the people in the boat, and in the English language directed them to a landing place.

Captain Rogers relates, 'our yawl which we had sent ashore,  
' did

PART II. ' did not return so soon as was expected, so we sent our pin-  
 1709. ' nace armed to see the occasion of her stay. The pinnace  
 February. ' returned immediately from the shore, and brought abundance  
 At Juan ' of craw-fish, with a man clothed in goats' skins, who looked  
 Fernandez. ' more wild than the first owners of them. He had been on the  
 Alexander ' Island four years and four months. His name was Alexander  
 Selkirk. ' Selkirk, a Scotchman who had been master of the Cinque  
 ' Ports Galley, a ship which came here with Captain Dampier,  
 ' who told me that this was the best man in her; so I imme-  
 ' diately agreed with him to be a mate on board our ship. It  
 ' was he that made the fire last night, judging our ships to  
 ' be English.'

' During his stay on *Juan Fernandez* he saw several ships  
 ' pass by, but two only anchored. He went to view them, and  
 ' finding them to be Spaniards, retired from them, upon  
 ' which they shot at him. He said, if they had been French,  
 ' he would have surrendered himself to them; but the Spa-  
 ' niards in these parts, he apprehended would kill him, or make  
 ' a slave of him and send him to the mines. Some of the  
 ' Spaniards came so near him that he had difficulty to make  
 ' his escape. They not only shot at him, but pursued him into  
 ' the woods, where he concealed himself by climbing into a  
 ' tree. He was born at *Largo* in the county of *Fife* in *Scotland*,  
 ' and had been bred to the sea from his youth. The reason of  
 ' his being left at *Juan Fernandez* was a difference between him  
 ' and his captain, *Stradling*.'

' He had with him a firelock, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, and  
 ' other things, with which he provided for himself very well as  
 ' to food and lodging: but for the first eight months he had  
 ' much ado to bear up against melancholy. He built two huts  
 ' which he covered with long grass and lined with goats' skins.  
 ' In one he dressed his victuals; in the other he slept. He got  
 ' fire by rubbing two pieces of pimento wood together. He  
 ' employed himself much in singing psalms and praying.  
 ' He

‘ He was at first distressed by the want of bread and salt, but  
 ‘ at length came to relish his meat well enough without either \*.  
 ‘ When his gunpowder failed, he took the goats by speed of  
 ‘ foot, for his way of living and continual exercise of walking  
 ‘ and running, cleared him of gross humours, so that he could  
 ‘ run with wonderful swiftness, through woods and up rocks  
 ‘ and hills. He kept an account of 500 goats that he killed  
 ‘ whilst there; and he caught as many more, which he marked  
 ‘ on the ear and let go. His agility in pursuing a goat had once  
 ‘ nearly cost him his life: he pursued with so much eagerness;  
 ‘ that he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice of  
 ‘ which he was not aware, the bushes having hid it from him,  
 ‘ so that he fell with the goat down the said precipice a great  
 ‘ height, and was so stunned and bruised with the fall that  
 ‘ he narrowly escaped with life, and when he came to his  
 ‘ senses, found the goat dead under him. He lay there 24 hours  
 ‘ before he could crawl to his hut, which was about a mile  
 ‘ distant, and could not stir abroad again for many days.’

CHAP. 10.  
 1709.  
 Alexander  
 Selkirk  
 on Juan  
 Fernandez.

‘ In the season he had plenty of good turnips, which had  
 ‘ been sowed there by Captain Dampier’s men, and have now  
 ‘ overspread some acres of ground. He had cabbage from  
 ‘ the cabbage-trees, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the  
 ‘ pimento, which is the same as the Jamaica pepper. He  
 ‘ found also a black pepper, called Malagita, which was very  
 ‘ good in stomach complaints.’

‘ He soon wore out all his shoes and clothes by running  
 ‘ through the woods; and at last, by being accustomed to shift  
 ‘ without them, his feet became so hard that he ran every  
 ‘ where without annoyance, and it was some time before he  
 ‘ could wear shoes after he was with us, for not being used to  
 ‘ any so long, his feet swelled when he came to wear them  
 ‘ again.’

‘ He

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\* The Buccaneers of Edward Davis’s crew who chose to remain on *Juan Fernandez* supplied themselves with salt by making salt-pans near the seaside.

## PART II.

1700.

Alexander  
Selkirk  
on Juan  
Fernandez.

‘ He was at first much pestered with cats and rats, that had  
 ‘ bred in great numbers from some of each species which had  
 ‘ got on shore from ships that put in here to wood and water;  
 ‘ but by cherishing the cats with pieces of goat’s flesh, they  
 ‘ became so tame that they would lay about him in hundreds,  
 ‘ and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed  
 ‘ some kids, and to divert himself would sing and dance with  
 ‘ them and his cats; so that by the care of Providence, and  
 ‘ vigour of his youth, being now about thirty years old, he  
 ‘ came at last to conquer all the inconveniences of his soli-  
 ‘ tude, and to be very easy \*. When his clothes were worn out,  
 ‘ he made himself a coat and cap of goat skins, which he  
 ‘ stitched together with little thongs of the same, cut with his  
 ‘ knife. He had no other needle than a nail; and when his  
 ‘ knife was worn to the back, he made others of iron hoops that  
 ‘ were left ashore.’

‘ The climate is so good at *Juan Fernandez* that the trees  
 ‘ and grass are verdant all the year. The winter lasts no longer  
 ‘ than June and July, and is not then severe, but sometimes  
 ‘ there are great rains. He saw no venomous creature on the  
 ‘ Island.’

Edward Cook says, ‘ This man was commonly called  
 ‘ Alexander Selkirk; but his right name was Selcrag; who,  
 ‘ being left on the Island *Juan Fernandez*, lived there four  
 ‘ years and four months without human society. When the  
 ‘ first boat landed, he saluted the new comers with much joy,  
 ‘ and invited the officers to his habitation. The way to it was  
 ‘ very much hidden and uncouth, and only Lieutenant Fry  
 ‘ would bear him company. Having with much difficulty  
 ‘ climbed up and crept down many rocks, they came at last to a  
 ‘ pleasant spot of ground full of grass, and furnished with  
 ‘ trees, where were two small huts indifferently built, one being  
 ‘ the

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\* According to *The Remarkable Adventures of Alexander Selkirk*, printed at Bristol, 1800, he was born in or about the year 1676.



‘ the lodging room; and the other the kitchen. His bed was  
 ‘ raised from the ground on a bedstead of his own contriving,  
 ‘ and consisted of goats’ skins. About the habitation were a  
 ‘ number of goats which he had bred up tame. He had pro-  
 ‘ vided goat’s flesh to entertain his guests, which after their long  
 ‘ run at sea, was no small dainty. It was with some difficulty  
 ‘ he was persuaded to go on board, on account of a certain  
 ‘ officer that he heard was there, yet upon promise of being  
 ‘ restored to his former dwelling, if not satisfied, he at length  
 ‘ complied, and found such entertainment as made him not  
 ‘ long for his solitary retreat\*.’

CHAP. 10.  
 1709.  
 February.  
 Alexander  
 Selkirk  
 on Juan  
 Fernandez.

The number of individuals each of whom has at times been the solitary inhabitant of *Juan Fernandez*, entitles that Island to be called the *Land of Robinson Crusoes*. A more circumstantial description of Selkirk’s manner of living than of that of his equally lonely predecessors, came to the notice of the public, and his residence in that Island is known to be the ground-work of De Foe’s *Robinson Crusoe*.

It has been made a question whether Daniel de Foe came fairly by the materials of his ‘ *Serious Romance* ;’ and though the matter seems ably considered and candidly pronounced upon in the *Biographia Britannica* (under the article De Foe) it can scarcely yet be regarded as settled. It is stated that Selkirk being advised to get his story put into writing and to publish it,

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\* *Voyage by Captain Edward Cooke*. Introduction to Vol. IId, p. xx. The author of the *Remarkable Adventures of Alexander Selkirk* has conjectured that the officer against whom Selkirk entertained so much dislike was Captain Dampier. In a Collection of Voyages published under the name of John Hamilton Moore, it is asserted that the object of Selkirk’s animosity was an officer formerly belonging to the Cinque Ports galley, who he was informed was on board the Duke. This latter account, though the authority on which it is given is not specified, is much the most probable, for Selkirk was not a shipmate with Dampier in the voyage of the Saint George, but sailed in the Cinque Ports galley; and the character given by Dampier of Selkirk to Captain Rogers shews that there did not subsist between them any unfriendliness.



PART II.  
Of  
Alexander  
Selkirk.

it, went to De Foe for assistance, to whom he related every thing he could remember; but that De Foe, instead of serving Selkirk, expanded the information he received into his history of Robinson Crusoe. The *Biographia Britannica* observes that no charge was published against De Foe during his life time of having converted to his own purpose communications of any kind made to him by Selkirk, though few men have been more beset by literary enemies. It is plain that Selkirk, before he arrived in *England*, made known the heads of his adventures to Woodes Rogers and Edward Cooke; and in fact, it was by their publication that Selkirk was bereaved of any advantage he might have derived from first telling his own history. It is sufficient exculpation of De Foe, that Woodes Rogers and Edward Cooke published their account of Selkirk in 1712, and that Robinson Crusoe did not appear till 1719. Sir Richard Steele also, in a paper of his *Englishman*, dated December 1713, gives a brief account of Selkirk, his manner of living and employment of his time whilst on the Island *Juan Fernandez*, received from his own mouth. ‘It was matter of great curiosity,’ says Sir Richard, ‘to hear him, as he was a man of sense, give an account of the different revolutions in his own mind in that long solitude.’ Here were the rudiments of a Robinson Crusoe laid before the world. Daniel De Foe at the time he published, or any other man, had a right to make use as he thought proper of the ideas which the accounts so long before published of Selkirk, and which likewise that related of the Mosquito Indian, William, by Dampier, might give birth to; and in fact they appear to have gained complete hold of his imagination. De Foe, between the years 1712 and 1719, by his political writings involved himself in great inconveniences. He also suffered severely from illness, being, in 1715, struck with a fit of apoplexy. It is said that after his recovery he appeared to have wholly quitted politics. Unprosperous circumstances with any mixture of disgrace, have a strong tendency

tendency to wean a man from taking delight in society, and to dispose him to lonely contemplation. De Foe seems to have sought consolation in reflecting on solitude as productive of peace of mind, and to have placed himself in the situation of Selkirk with the full bent of his imagination. Hence it resulted that the distresses and employments of his Robinson Crusoe were so naturally imagined, and that his resources were contrived with as much reflection as ingenuity.

CHAP. 10.  
Of  
Alexander  
Selkirk.

It is not probable that the publication of Robinson Crusoe occasioned any deprivation to the public, or was of any pecuniary detriment to Selkirk; for it does not follow that if De Foe had not written, Selkirk would have published his own adventures. It was natural at the same time, that when Selkirk beheld another person reaping profit from his misfortunes, it should create in him regret and discontent, that he should regard it as a benefit intercepted, and in that light, as an injury done him. There appears however, no solid ground for disputing the legitimacy of De Foe's Crusoe.

Captain Rogers stopped a fortnight at *Juan Fernandez*; and landed the sick, about fifty from both the ships, mostly scorbutic patients, all of whom recovered, except two. He remarks, as other navigators had before done, on the multitude of seals and the fineness of their fur at *Juan Fernandez*.

1709.  
February.

On the 14th of February the ships sailed, Alexander Selkirk being on board the Duke as Second Mate. The *Lobos de la Mar Isles* was appointed for the place of rendezvous in case of separation, with directions that 'Either ship arriving and not finding his consort, should before his departure, set up a cross at the landing place, and any intelligence he may wish to communicate, bury it under ground, secured in a glass bottle, twenty yards directly North from the cross.'

The 17th, they saw the Continent, and stood Northward keeping at a good distance from the land. In sailing thus along

Coast of  
Peru.

**PART II.** the coast, they did not fall in with any vessel till March the  
 1709. 15th, near the *Lobos Islands*, when they took a small bark  
 March. belonging to *Payta*, with about 200 dollars on board, intended  
 for the purchase of flour at a place called *Cheripe*. From the  
 crew of the prize they learnt that the Cinque Ports Galley had  
 foundered on the coast, and that Stradling with those of his  
 people who were saved, were then prisoners at *Lima*.

16th. The 16th, the two ships with their prize anchored at the  
 The Islands *Islands Lobos de la Mar*. Woodes Rogers says, 'we had  
 Lobos de la 20 fathoms depth, clean ground, in the thoroughfare between  
 Mar. the two Islands, above a cable's length from each;' but his  
 description afterwards of the Islands, shews that there are more  
 than two; and what he says of the anchorage is confused and  
 liable to misinterpretation. He says however in clear language,  
 that 'on the Easternmost Island is a round hummock, and behind  
 ' it a small cove, very smooth, deep, and convenient for a ship  
 ' to careen in.' They hauled their small prize into this cove,  
 and fitted her up as a tender. No fresh water, nor any thing  
 green, was found on these *Lobos Islands*. Fowls like teal nestled  
 in holes on the ground, and were reckoned good meat. A sea-  
 man of the Duke died suddenly after eating the liver of a seal  
 here, and the Spanish prisoners said that the flesh of the old  
 seals was reckoned unwholesome food. One of the sailors was  
 attacked on shore by a large seal, who bit him in several places,  
 and, though he was a stout man, almost pulled him into  
 the water.

The Duke and Dutchess cleaned and repaired here by turns,  
 one ship with the tender keeping out cruising. They continued  
 April. on this station till the middle of April, in which time they took  
 five prizes, none of much value to them; and in the attack of  
 one of these vessels with boats, Captain Rogers had the misfor-  
 tune to lose his brother Mr. John Rogers. Another of the  
 Duke's men was killed at the same time, and three were  
 wounded,

wounded, who all died of their wounds. Two of the prizes were French-built vessels, their names the Havre de Grace, and La Lune d'Or, which the French had sold to the Spaniards.

CHAP. 10.

1709.

In the latter part of April, Captain Rogers surprised *Puna*, and afterwards took *Guayaquil*. In the attack they lost two men, and one was afterwards shot by their own sentinel, in consequence of his not answering when challenged. But they suffered more in the sequel by a contagious fever which had raged in *Guayaquil*. The plunder found here in treasure and merchandise convenient for them to take, scarcely exceeded 2,000*l.* in value; but they obtained 27,000 dollars for ransom of the town and the shipping in the river, and a good supply of provisions; and they kept a number of negroes as a reinforcement to the crews. They also sold some of their former prizes and prize goods here to the Spaniards. On May the 8th, the Duke and Dutchess, with four prize vessels, sailed from the coast of *Peru* for the *Galapagos Islands*, carrying with them some Spaniards who had been delivered as hostages for the payment of the ransom, the terms agreed upon not having been fulfilled by about 3000 dollars.

Guayaquil taken;

Guayaquil ransomed.

May.

In the passage to the *Galapagos*, the fever broke out on board the ships, and immediately spread in an alarming manner.

' This day, the 11th, says the Journal, Captain Courtney was taken ill, and Captain Dover went on board the Dutchess to prescribe for him. Twenty of our men have been taken ill within this twenty-four hours of a malignant fever, we suppose contracted at *Guayaquil*.'

The 16th in the forenoon, they came in sight of the *Galapagos Islands*. At this time sixty men were in the sick list on board the Duke, and above eighty on board the Dutchess. On arriving near the land, it was agreed for the vessels to separate to different Islands, that they might the better search for fresh water, and a ' remarkable Rock ' was fixed upon near which to rendezvous after the search. Turtle, fish, and wood, were

At the Galapagos Islands

## PART II.

1709.

May.

Prize  
commanded  
by Simon  
Hatley,  
missing.

were found, but no fresh water was discovered. On the 22d, five out of the six vessels had reassembled near the *Rendezvous Rock*. The one missing was a prize bark in the charge of Simon Hatley, the Third Mate of the *Dutchess*, who had with him five seamen, four negroes, and an American Indian. At the time she parted from the other vessels, she had on board fresh water for not more than two days at the common allowance. One of the prize vessels, and boats, were first sent in quest of her; and afterwards, the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, and the other prizes cruised among the Islands, firing guns and carrying lights abroad during the night; which was continued till the 26th; but nothing of Hatley's vessel was seen.

Unfortunately, and rather unaccountably, Captain Rogers had neglected to take a supply of fresh water on board his ships whilst they were in the *Bay of Guayaquil*. Since their arrival at the *Galapagos*, ten men of the crews had died, and the sickness still raged: they were now threatened with a scarcity of water, on which accounts it was determined in a consultation, to stand over to the Continent to water the ships, and to return to the *Galapagos* to look for Simon Hatley and his men.

The Island of the *Galapagos* first made by the *Duke* and *Dutchess* was the *King Charles's Island* of Cowley's chart; and it is probable, that his *Rendezvous Rock* is the *Dalrymple Rock* of Captain Colnet's chart. Captain Rogers in expressing his regret that he had not watered his ships before he sailed to the *Galapagos*, says that he was thereby prevented from giving himself time to look for the Island *Santa Maria de l'Aguada*, 'reported to be one of the *Galapagos* where there is good water, timber, and a safe road, where it is said Captain Davis the Buccaneer lay some months and recruited to content.'

On the evening of the 26th they made sail from the *Galapagos*, and on June the 5th made the Continent. The same day, they captured a small vessel from *Panama* bound for *Guayaquil*, having on board some passengers and negroes. The 7th,

7th, they anchored by the East side of *Gorgona*, where they found fresh water, and took a supply. The 8th, their boats chased and captured a small bark, with salt and brandy, and about the value of 500*l.* in gold. Captain Rogers stopped at *Gorgona* to careen the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, and at the same time the prize *Havre de Grace* was equipped as an associate, being mounted with 20 guns, and manned with sixty men from the crews of the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, and seventeen black men; Edward Cook was appointed to command her, and her name was changed to that of the *Marquis*.

CHAP. 10.

1709.

June.

At the  
Island  
*Gorgona*.

July the 11th, they landed a number of prisoners on the main land. On the 18th, a negroe belonging to the *Dutchess* was bit by a small brown-speckled snake, and died within twelve hours after.

July.

There are many snakes on *Gorgona*, some very large. Woodes Rogers saw one as thick as his leg and three yards long. He describes an animal caught at *Gorgona*, which he calls a Sloth; 'in appearance it had some resemblance to a monkey of the middling sort. One was set loose at the lower part of the mizen shrouds, and he was two hours in getting up to the top-mast head.' No land birds were seen at *Gorgona*, which was attributed to the woods being peopled with monkeys.

Snakes.

Animal  
called a  
Sloth.

The ships remained at *Gorgona* till August, with tents erected on shore for the sick. During that time they had frequent communication with the Spaniards on the main, many of whom came to purchase prize goods, for which they paid sometimes in money and sometimes in provisions. The most valuable of the prize goods that were not so disposed of, were taken into the *Duke*, *Dutchess* and *Marquis*, and the prize vessels, the *Marquis* excepted, were purchased by their former possessors. Captain Rogers proposed that the *Marquis* should be sent to *Brasil*, where he thought her cargo might be disposed of to much advantage; but the majority of the council opposed such a separation.

August

## PART II.

1700.

August.  
Coast of  
Peru.

August the 7th, they sailed from *Gorgona*, bound Southward; but by currents and the lightness of the breezes they were kept a week in sight of the Island. On board the *Duke* were 35 stout negroes, selected from those taken in Spanish vessels to serve as part of the *Duke's* crew. Captain Rogers called them together, and told them that in the event of meeting an enemy, if they fought and behaved themselves well they should be free men; 'on which thirty-two of them immediately promised to stand to their quarters as long as the best Englishman, and desired that they might be improved in the use of arms. Upon this I made Michael Kendall, the Jamaica free negro, their leader, to exercise them. To confirm our contract, I made them drink a dram all round to our good success.'

Bay de  
Atacames.Fresh  
Water  
Rivers.

The 18th, they took a small bark from *Panama* bound for *Guayaquil*, with 24 negroes in her. They learnt by this vessel that two large French ships were cruising in search of them. On the 24th, they anchored in the *Bay de Atacames* which is on the ENE of *Cape San Francisco*, where they watered, there being two small rivers near the *Village de Atacames*, which their boats could enter at half flood. Whilst they lay in this bay, both Spaniards and Natives came to trade with them. One merchant, by name *Señor Navarre*, bought goods and slaves to the value of 3,500 dollars, and they took in payment his written obligation or bond to remit that sum to *Jamaica* by the way of *Portobello*, for the owners of the *Duke* and *Dutchess*.

Westward from the *Bay de Atacames*, about half way towards *Cape San Francisco*, is a point off which runs a small shoal, on which account it is recommended not to approach nearer than within half a league of the shore; and also not to anchor in less depth than six fathoms near this shore, because the tides sometimes, out of the ordinary course, ebb exceedingly low.

On the 31st, the three ships, with a tender, left the coast to



to return to the *Galapagos*. September the 10th, they anchored at one of the *Islands*, opposite to a white sandy bay, and within less than a mile of the shore, a great rock bearing from them N b E, distant six miles; and a small white rock which appeared like a sail bearing W b S about four miles distant.

CHAP. 10.  
1709.  
September.  
At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

Here they supplied themselves with land and sea turtle, fish, good salt, and wood. No fresh water was found, nor was it now much sought after. Search was made for the bark which Simon Hatley had commanded, but nothing was seen that gave any information concerning her or her people. The rudder and bowsprit of a small vessel were found, which at first were supposed to have belonged to Hatley's; but on examination they appeared to be much older.

Woodes Rogers, in this part of his Journal, speaks again of the *Santa Maria de l'Aguada*. He says, 'The Spanish reports agree that there is but one Island that has any fresh water; which lies in 1° 30' S. Señ. Morell [a Spanish sea captain, but then prisoner] tells me, that a Spanish ship of war employed to cruise against the pirates, was once at an Island which lies by itself in the latitude of 1° 20' or 1° 30' S. They call it *Santa Maria de l'Aguada*, a pleasant Island and good road, full of wood and plenty of water, and turtle of both sorts, with fish. I believe this to be no other but the same Island where Captain Davis the Buccaneer recruited, and all the light he has left to find it again is, that it lies to the Westward of those Islands he was at with the other Buccaneers.'

Of the  
Island  
Santa Maria  
de l'Aguada.

The *Galapagos Islands*, from their proximity to the Continent, have not constantly the regular trade-wind, and the sea near them is subject to strong currents. Captain Colnet remarked, in the month of June, near the *Galapagos*, a current so strong and irregular as to change the ship's course against the helm, though sailing at the rate of 3½ miles per hour\*. The difference

\* Colnet's Voyage, p. 45-46.



**PART II.**

1709.

ference in the reckonings of navigators produced by these currents and light variable winds, caused a belief that there were two groups of Islands in the parallel of the *Galapagos*, about 100 leagues apart from each other. The prevalence of this opinion is noticed by Captain Rogers; and many charts composed in the middle of the eighteenth century accord with it.

September the 17th, Captain Rogers sailed from the *Galapagos Islands* for the coast of *New Spain*, with the intention to look out for the arrival of the Galeon from the *Philippines*, and afterwards to sail for the *East Indies*.

October.

Tres  
Marias  
Islands.  
The SE  
Island.

October the 1st, they made the coast of *New Spain* as far to the North as the Province of *Colima*, and the next day were in sight of *Cape Corrientes*. They stood over to the *Tres Marias Islands*, and when near the South Eastern Island, an officer was sent in the Duke's pinnace to examine if it afforded safe anchorage or other convenience. The officer reported on his return, 'that the Island had foul ground near half a mile from the shore; bad anchoring, worse landing, and no fresh water.'

The Middle  
Island.

Captain Rogers accordingly sailed on to the middle Island, and anchored near its SE part in 11 fathoms sandy bottom, half a league from the shore. Water was found here, but it was bitter and purgative. A boat was sent to examine 'the other side of the Island,' and she returned with information of there being signs of turtle and indifferent good water on the NE side. On a second search, a boat load of turtle was obtained and an excellent run of fresh water found near the NW corner of the Island; and thither all the vessels went and anchored, the Duke in seven fathoms clean sandy bottom, half a mile distant from the shore, the extremes in sight of this Middle Island bearing W b N and E b S, and the body of the North-western of the *Marias* bearing NW distant four leagues. The weather at this time was fair and the winds light; 'otherwise this would have been but an ordinary road.'

At this middle Island of the *Marias* were turtle, fish, fresh  
water,

water, and wood ; parrots, pigeons, doves, and many other birds ; guanoes, hares small but of good flavour, and rakoons. The rakoons barked and snarled at the men like dogs, but were easily driven off.

CHAP. 10.

1709.

October.

At the  
Tres Marias.

Turtle.

Manner of  
laying.  
their Eggs.

All the turtle taken here were females, who came on shore to lay their eggs and bury them in the sand. Woodes Rogers relates, ' One of these turtle had at least 800 eggs in her, 150 of which were skinned and ready for laying at once. I could not imagine the eggs were so long in hatching as some authors write, considering the sun makes the sand so very hot. In order therefore to be better informed, I ordered our men on shore to watch carefully for one, and to suffer her to lay her eggs without disturbance, and to take good notice of the time and place. Accordingly they did so, and assured me they found the eggs addled in less than twelve hours, and in about twelve more, they had young ones in them, completely shaped and alive.' Edward Cook says, the turtle buried their eggs two feet deep in the sand ; which depth seems intended by them for protection as well from the heat of the sun as from birds of prey.

Ten of the negroes who had been kept to serve as part of the crews, being sent on shore here to cut wood, seven of them deserted, and concealed themselves in the woods as long as the ships remained: from which circumstance no favourable inference can be drawn respecting their treatment, notwithstanding the handsome professions which had passed between them and Captain Rogers.

The European provisions with which the ships first sailed had been much saved by the provisions and refreshments they had met with, except in the articles of bread and flour, of which it was apprehended they would experience a scarcity. They were at this time at an allowance of a pound and a half for five days. They had kept at a distance from the coast of *New Spain*, where their wants might have been supplied, thinking it

**PART II.** necessary to their success against the Manila ship that they should not risk being descried from the shore.

1799.

Cape  
San Lucas.

Natives of  
California.

The 25th, they sailed from the *Tres Marias* for *Cape San Lucas*, off which Captain Rogers stationed his ships a good distance spread from each other, to extend his view. The Tender was the in-shore vessel; and to her some Californian natives went off on small rafts or catamarans. They were naked, and on their first coming appeared fearful, but some small presents being made them they became confident. They gave in return for some knives and cloth, two live foxes, a deer skin, and some fresh water which they carried in bladders. They did not understand a word of Spanish, and nothing was observed among them that indicated their having communication with the Spaniards. Some of the Tender's men landed afterwards, and were entertained by the natives with broiled fish.

November.

Whilst cruising off *Cape San Lucas*, an agreement was entered into on board the *Duke*, and adopted by the officers and crews of the other ships, for the purpose of discouraging gaming; in which they mutually consented and bound themselves to remit all notes of hand, bills, or obligation of any kind soever, signed after November the 11th, the date of the agreement, that should have been contracted or have passed between them directly or indirectly for any wagering or gaming account.

The acquaintance formed with the natives of *Cape San Lucas* was of great use; for boats went on shore at different times from the ships, and brought off fresh water. The natives were very friendly with the people who went in the boats, but would not allow them to land during the night.

December.

The middle of December arrived, and the Commanders of the English ships began to apprehend there would be no Manila ship this year; though it was well known that Swan and Townley had formerly missed the Manila galeon by quitting their station off *Cape Corrientes* so early as the 1st of January.

January. The impatience in Captain Rogers's ships was chiefly on account of the shortness of their stock of bread, of which there remained only sufficient to serve them 70 days, and it was necessary for them to go into port to water before they departed for the *East Indies*. The Marquis was found so much in want of repair that on the 15th she was sent into the bay called *Puerto Segura* at *Cape San Lucas*; and it was intended that when she came out refitted and watered, the other ships should go in by turns; but on the 20th, a council was held at which it was determined not to continue longer cruising for the Manila ship; and according to this resolution, they stood in for *Puerto Segura*, intending there to water, and to proceed with all speed for the *East Indies*.

CHAP. 10  
1709.  
December.  
Near Cape  
San Lucas.

15th.

20th.

All the afternoon of the 20th, there was little or no wind, and a current set from the land. On the morning of the 21st, a breeze sprung up, with which they made towards the *Cape*; but at nine o'clock, a strange sail was seen to the Westward. The course was immediately directed towards her, though at first it was supposed to be the Marquis, her repairs finished, and coming out of the *Puerto Segura* to rejoin them; but finding that she altered her course and stood from them, there remained no doubt of her being a stranger, and the Duke and Dutchess chased under all sail. The wind falling, they gained but little on her that day. During the night, Captain Rogers employed boats to keep sight of the strange ship, and by eight in the morning of the 22d, he was alongside of her in the Duke. She had hoisted Spanish colours, and after an hour's engagement, the Dutchess by that time having come up, she struck, and proved to be from *Manila*. Two ships had sailed this year from *Manila* for *New Spain*. This which was the smallest of the two, was named the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*, was of 400 tons burthen, and commanded by Don John Pichberty, by birth a Frenchman, and brother-in-law to Mons. Du Casse, the French Governor in *Hispaniola*. She had 20 guns mounted, and at the time

21st.

A Manila  
Ship seen.

22d.

and taken.

## PART II.

1709.

December.

At Cape  
San Lucas.

time of coming to action, 193 men, of whom nine were killed and several wounded. She was laden with East-Indian goods, and had departed from *Manila* in company with the larger ship, but they had lost company on the passage.

On board the *Duke*, only two men were wounded in the action; one of whom was Captain Woodes Rogers, and badly, by a musket-ball passing through his left cheek, which carried away part of the upper jaw and several of his teeth.

They stood in with their prize for *Puerto Segura*, and anchored there on the afternoon of the 23d. The *Marquis* was

23d. by this time ready for sea, and as it was probable that the other Galeon had not yet passed the Cape of *California*, it was determined that the *Dutchess* and *Marquis* should keep the sea, whilst the *Duke*, the *Tender*, and their *Manila* prize, refitted in the port. On the 24th, the *Dutchess* and *Marquis*

24th. sailed, and took their station off *Cape San Lucas*. The next morning Captain Rogers placed men on the top of a hill to

25th. look out, and to make signals on seeing any strange vessels. In the afternoon of the same day, the look-out men made

A second  
*Manila*  
ship seen;

signals that three sail were in sight in the offing; whereupon Captain Rogers put all his Spanish prisoners into the *Tender*, from which he took all the arms, the sails, boats, and the rudder, and caused her to be anchored at a mile distance from the *Manila* prize, the charge of which he gave to Captain *Dover* with 22 men; and then weighed anchor in the *Duke*, and stood out to sea to join his consorts.

is attacked.

The strange ship, which proved to be the expected large Galeon, had been seen by the *Dutchess* and *Marquis* early in the morning, and was chased by them the whole day. At midnight, the *Dutchess* got alongside of her, and by herself engaged her near two hours, the *Marquis* not having come up, when having suffered much, she dropped astern to wait for the *Marquis*; but the *Marquis* could not get near enough to assist till the afternoon (of the 26th,) and then the attack was

26th.

renewed

renewed by them jointly, and continued until sunset, the two ships being encouraged by the Duke approaching. When it grew dark, the firing was discontinued, and during the night, the Duke joined the Dutchess and Marquis. At daylight (of the 27th,) all the three English ships fell on the enemy, who with unabated resolution continued to defend himself. At eleven in the forenoon, the English ships drew off, and holding a short council, agreed that they were not able to take this Manila ship, and that instead of farther attempting her, they would look to the securing of the prize already taken.

CHAP. 10.

1709.

December.

At Cape  
San Lucas.

27th.

The  
English are  
beaten off.

The Spanish Galeon which so successfully resisted the three English ships, was named the *Bigonia*, her burthen was about 900 tons; she had 40 guns mounted, and 400 men on board. She was strongly built, her sides being so thick, that the shot of the English ships, none of which exceeded six pounds weight, seemed to make very little impression. On the side of the English, the Dutchess suffered most, 25 of her men being killed or wounded. In the Duke and Marquis 13 were wounded, but no one killed. Captain Rogers was again among the wounded; a splinter having struck his left heel and ankle and forced out part of the bone.

The Galeon sailed on for *Acapulco*, and the English returned to *Puerto Segura* to repair and to make dispositions for quitting the American coast.

Some Spaniards had been brought by Captain Rogers from *Guayaquil*, kept as hostages for the payment of ransom remaining due for that place. An agreement was now concluded with them and the Chevalier Pichberty, according to which, on their giving bills payable in London for 6000 dollars, all the Spanish prisoners were released, and the bark which had served the English as a tender was given to them, with provisions for their subsistence to *Acapulco*. Thirty-six Lascars, natives of the *Philippine Islands*, who were taken in the Manila prize, were not included in this treaty, but kept to assist in navigating the

## PART II.

1709.

December.

At Cape  
San Lucas.

the English ships, the number of which was increased by the council determining that the Manila prize should be taken to *England*, to which end she was furnished with officers and crew, and her name was changed for that of the Batchelor, in compliment to Mr. Alderman Batchelor, of *Bristol*, who was one of the principal owners of the *Duke and Dutchess*; but the majority in the committee differed from Captain Rogers in the choice of a commander for the Batchelor, which produced protests and counter-protests. The matter was at length accommodated by the appointment of three captains, of whom the chief, and so styled, was Captain Thomas Dover, who was to have charge of the cargo and of the interests of the owners (himself being a part owner.) The two other Captains, the order of the Committee says, were 'to act in equal posts in the sole navigating, sailing, and engaging if occasion should be, under Captain Thomas Dover, who shall not molest, hinder, or contradict them in their business.' Alexander Selkirk was appointed Master of the Batchelor under the three Captains.

Natives of  
the South  
part of  
California.

The natives at *Puerto Segura*, Captain Rogers says, were 'tall and large limbed, had dark black hair and were of blacker complexion than any other people he met with in the *South Sea*: their aspect and language disagreeable, pronouncing so much in the throat as if their words had been ready to choke them.' They were, however, quiet and friendly with the English. They had bows seven feet in length, the strings of which were made of a silken grass: the arrows were of small cane pointed with fish-bone or flint.

Puerto  
Segura.

'*Puerto Segura* is about a league to the Eastward of a round, sandy, bald headland, which some take to be *Cape San Lucas*, because it is the Southernmost land. The entrance into the Bay may be known by four high rocks which look like the *Needles* at the *Isle of Wight* as you come from the Westward. The two Westernmost are in form of sugar-loaves, and the innermost of them has an arch through which the sea makes

' its



‘ its way. You must leave the outermost rock about a cable’s  
 ‘ length on your larboard hand, and steer into the deepest part  
 ‘ of the bay, being all bold, where you may anchor in from  
 ‘ 10 to 25 fathoms depth. Here you may ride landlocked from  
 ‘ Eb N [round by the left] to the SE b S: yet it would be but  
 ‘ an ordinary road if the wind should come strong from the sea,  
 ‘ which it did not whilst the Duke lay there. The starboard  
 ‘ side of the bay is the best anchoring ground, where you may  
 ‘ ride on a bank that has from 10 to 15 fathoms depth. The  
 ‘ rest of this bay is very deep; and near the rocks on the lar-  
 ‘ board side going in, there is no ground. This is not a good  
 ‘ recruiting place. The land near where we were is barren and  
 ‘ sandy, and had nothing but a few shrubs and bushes pro-  
 ‘ ducing berries of different sorts. The natives have roots  
 ‘ which eat like yams\*.’ Fish, fresh water, and a little game,  
 made up the rest of the bill of fare at *Puerto Segura*. The  
 variation of the compass observed near *Cape San Lucas* was  
 three degrees Easterly.

CHAP. 10.  
1710.

On January the 10th, the four ships, Duke, Dutchess, Mar-  
 quis, and Batchelor, sailed from *California* for the *East Indies*.

January.  
Departure  
from the  
Coast of  
America.  
Cargoes of  
the Ships.

Some account is given by Edward Cooke of the lading with  
 which they left the American coast, which was composed of the  
 most valuable part of the cargoes of the different prizes they had  
 taken, but the cargo of the Manila prize, now the Batchelor,  
 remained unmixed. The following is a summary of the whole.

Silks, damasks, satins, and linens	about 90,000 pieces,
of various denominations	- - - and 1000 bales.
Raw and sewing silk	- - - 48,000 lbs.
Silk stockings	- - - 4,310 pair.
Musk	- - - 5,997 oz.
Spices	- - - 15,000 lbs.

Various

\* *A Cruising Voyage round the World*, p. 317; and *Voyage by Edward Cooke*,  
 Vol. I, p. 335.



## PART II.

1710.

January.

Various other articles in smaller quantities.

Money and plate in value about 12,000 *l*.

Jewels and pearls, the particulars of which are specified in an inventory, but not their value; and some bills taken for ransom.

In the Batchelor was found near 4000 lbs. weight of bread, and a quantity of sweetmeats.

And in the Duke and Dutchess was a quantity of iron and steel in bars, and of European hardware manufacture, being part of the original cargo with which they sailed from *England*.

Woodes Rogers with his small squadron pursued the track usually sailed by the galeons, of getting early into the parallel of *Guahan*. It was prudent and necessary, notwithstanding the supply just above mentioned, to deal out the provisions with a sparing hand during the passage to the *Ladrones*; but a partial and dishonourable, or to name it properly, an infamous measure of frugality was put in practice by Captain Rogers, which necessity could not have justified. The Africans who formed part of the ships companies, and who had been promised that they should be regarded as Englishmen if they behaved manfully against the enemy, who had performed their part of the contract, by serving in the actions with both the galeons, were put to shorter allowance in this season of scarcity than the English seamen, and some of them died from absolute want. Here is seen the cause of the desertions at the *Tres Marias*.

March.  
At *Guahan*.

On March the 10th, they arrived at the Island *Guahan*, where they anchored under Spanish colours, and were shortly visited by two Spaniards who came off in a small boat. Captain Rogers sent back in the boat, one of the Spaniards and two of his own men, with a letter to the Spanish Governor, proposing to abstain from all acts of hostility on condition of the ships being allowed to purchase or trade for provisions and refreshments.

ments. The next forenoon an answer assenting to the proposition was received from the Governor.

CHAP. 10.

1710.

March.

At Guahan.

Here, their wants were amply supplied. Besides provision for present consumption, a sea-stock was procured, of which the Duke received for her share, 14 small bullocks, 60 hogs, 99 fowls, 24 baskets of Indian corn, 14 bags of rice, 44 baskets of yams, besides cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, limes, oranges, and other fruits. The price of cocoa-nuts in money, was 10 dollars per 1000. Other provisions cost rather more in proportion. At this time there resided on *Guahan* and *Zarpana*, about 300 Spaniards, some of whom had married with native women.

Captain Rogers was of opinion that the *Ladrone Island* proes would sail at the rate of above 20 miles per hour. He took one on board his ship to carry to *England*. 'It might be worth fitting up,' he says, 'to put in the canal in St. James's Park for a curiosity.'

Sailing  
Proe.

March the 21st, they sailed from *Guahan* for the *Moluccas*.

April the 10th, in the afternoon, they saw, bearing from them SE, distant five leagues, a pleasant small low Island, all green and full of trees. Its latitude  $2^{\circ} 54' N.$  Longitude, by Edward Cooke's reckoning from *Guahan*,  $14^{\circ} 40' W.$

April.  
10th.  
An Island  
 $2^{\circ} 54' N.$   
 $130^{\circ} 45' E.$   
14th.

The 14th, they had sight of the Island *Morotai*. After a long trial to get round the North of *Gilolo*, which they were prevented from doing by calms and currents, they stood Southward, and passed by the South of *Gilolo*. They stopped at the Island *Bouton* to take in water and provisions, and on June the 19th, anchored in the road of *Batavia*. Many of the seamen were taken ill here with fevers and fluxes, which was attributed to bad water taken from an Island in the harbour called *Horn Island*.

June.  
19th.  
*Batavia*.

The Marquis was found unfit to proceed to *Europe*, and was therefore sold, and her cargo and crew were distributed on board the other ships.

The three ships sailed from *Batavia* October the 23d, and  
3 Q 2 arrived

## PART II.

1711.

arrived at the *Cape of Good Hope* on December the 28th. Captain Rogers waited there till a number of homeward-bound ships had collected, and on April the 6th, they sailed together in company, forming a fleet of sixteen Dutch and nine English ships.

July.  
At the  
Texel.

They all preserved company throughout the homeward passage, which they made by the route commonly called North about; that is to say, round the North of *Scotland*. July the 23d, the whole fleet anchored at the *Texel*. The English East-India ships sailed soon after for the River *Thames*; but the *Duke*, *Dutchess*, and the *Batchelor*, remained at the *Texel*, according to orders received from the owners in *England*, 'who,' Captain Rogers says, 'were informed that the East-India Company was resolved to trouble them; although we had dealt for nothing but necessaries in *India*.' Affidavits to this purpose were made by the officers of the ships. The owners, however, did not immediately think it prudent to rely on the affidavits for defence, and by their directions Captain Rogers remained with the ships in *Holland* till the end of September, when they sailed for *England*, and on the 14th of October, anchored at *Erith* in the River *Thames*.

October.  
Arrive in  
the Thames.

Of Simon  
Hatley.

Captain Rogers mentions that after his return, he met Captain Thomas Stradling, formerly commander of the Cinque Ports Galley, from whom he learnt that Simon Hatley after losing company of the *Duke* and *Dutchess* at the *Galapagos Islands*, sailed to the coast of *Peru*; and that he and the men with him, being distressed for want of provisions, had surrendered themselves to the Spaniards.

Woodes Rogers and Edward Cooke have each given charts and a description of the coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *New Spain*, said to be extracted from Spanish manuscripts; but they have more the appearance of being drawn up from charts and descriptions before published. Captain Rogers candidly enough remarks, 'this voyage being only designed for cruising on the  
' enemy,

‘ enemy, it is not reasonable to expect such accounts in it as  
‘ are to be met with in books of travels relating to history,  
‘ geography and the like. Something of that however, I have  
‘ inserted to oblige the booksellers, who persuaded me that  
‘ this would make it more grateful to some sort of readers.’

CHAP. 10.  
1711.

Woodes Rogers’s Journal is rendered extremely dull and unentertaining by being swelled with tedious details respecting his government of his ship, and with resolutions of councils which were held on board given at length, of no interest to the generality of readers; the perusal of which, however, may possibly be profitable to persons concerned in the equipment of private ships of war. To prove his knowledge as a traveller, he describes places he had not seen. Being on the coast of *Brasil*, affords him opportunity to remark that the *River of the Amazons* is the Northern boundary of *the Brasils*, and the remark affords him opportunity to describe the River. He afterwards recollects the *River de la Plata* to be the Southern boundary, ‘ for which reason,’ he says, ‘ I shall give a description of it ‘ from the best authors.’ Edward Cooke’s Journal and charts are inferior to those published by Woodes Rogers.

This voyage is the last in which William Dampier is known to have been engaged. Many years spent in a laborious and almost unremitting exercise of his profession, added to disappointment that his endeavours were not attended with better success, must have much worn his constitution at the time he sailed with Woodes Rogers. From his own account of himself we learn, that he first went to sea in the year 1669 or 1670, being then eighteen years old, and we have sight of him till the end of his voyage with Woodes Rogers. What afterwards became of him is not known; but there is no reason to believe that he was secured from indigence in his latter days.

William  
Dampier.

It is matter of regret and not less of dissatisfaction to see that some late writers have been so little conscious of the merits

PART II. merits of Dampier as to allow themselves to speak of him with small respect, for no other cause than that it appears he had disagreements with some of his shipmates, the particular circumstances of which are not known, farther than that he had to deal with a quarrelsome and mutinous crew, and was not armed with sufficient authority to repress their disorders, and was far distant from any appeal. Such petty considerations should never have been lifted up against the memory of such a man as Dampier. It is not easy to name another Voyager or Traveller who has given more useful information to the world; to whom the Merchant and Mariner are so much indebted; or who has communicated his information in a more unembarrassed and intelligible manner. And this he has done in a style perfectly unassuming, equally free from affectation and from the most distant appearance of invention. It is with peculiar justness of feeling that the author of the *Navigation aux Terres Australes*, speaking of him, demands, ‘*mais ou trouve t’on des Navigateurs comparables à Dampier ?*’ Swift approved the plainness and simplicity of his style, as is evident by Captain Lemuel Gulliver hailing him Cousin. Many editions of Dampier’s Voyages have been printed, and they have been so fairly worn out that at this time it is difficult to procure a complete set.

English  
South Sea  
Company  
erected.  
1711.

IN the year 1711, was erected in *England*, a *South Sea Company*, concerning which it is sufficient in this place to observe, that its formation had no relation to any scheme or plan for establishing a commercial intercourse between the British Nation and the Countries bordering on the *South Sea*, or to any maritime enterprise then carrying on, or in contemplation.

## C H A P. XI.

*Voyages of the French to the South Sea in the years 1709 to 1721,  
including the Voyage of M. Frezier.*

FOR several years after the Voyage of Woodes Rogers, the navigation from *Europe* to the *South Sea* seems to have been undertaken only by the ships of *France*. The memorials found of these Voyages which are most worth preserving, will occupy the present Chapter. CHAP. 11.

In January 1709, the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, from *Marseilles*, commanded by M. Doublet, anchored at *la Concepcion*. In the passage out, they went by the East of *Staten Land*, which passage M. Duret, who sailed with Captain Doublet, calls *Brouwers Strait*. Duret wrote an account of the voyage principally for the sake of describing the Spanish settlements in *Peru* and *Chili*, the government and commerce; and the manners and customs of the inhabitants\*.

In the year 1709 also, the *St. Antoine*, a French ship commanded by M. Frondac, sailed from *China* to the American coast. This passage was made in the months of May, June and July, and Frondac went as far North as 45° N latitude, where he had Westerly winds. It is remarked that his crew suffered less from the scurvy than the crews of the Manila ships in making this passage usually did; which was attributed to the passage being shortened by their going so far North, and to their touching at the coast of *California*, where they found a place in latitude 31° N†, to stop at and take refreshment. Guillaume De Lisle has drawn the route of the *St. Antoine* across the *Pacific*, in one of his charts. Frondac sold his cargo on the coast of *Peru* and *Chili*, which was contrary to the orders and regulations of the

1709.  
Frondac  
from China  
to  
California.

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\* Printed 1720, at Paris, 12mo.

† *Noticia de la California*, Part IV. Append. V.

## PART II.

1711.

the Spanish Government, which expressly prohibited the introduction of Chinese merchandise into *Peru* or *Chili*. In the beginning of the year 1711, the *St. Antoine* anchored at *la Concepcion*; where M. Frondac, having been informed against, on landing from his ship, was apprehended by the Spaniards and thrown into prison. Several other French ships were then at *la Concepcion*, and some of the commanders proposed to cannonade the town: but others advised 'that the prison gates should be opened with a silver key.' The latter counsel was adopted, and with success, except that the key is said to have cost Frondac 14,000 piastres, but it seems he was satisfied at having so escaped\*.

February.

In February 1711, the French ships, the *Philipeau* commanded by M. Noail du Parc, the *Aurore* by M. Legriel, and the *Saint Antoine*, sailed from *la Concepcion* for *Europe*. Le Pere Louis Feuillée was a passenger in the *Philipeau*.

November.

In the beginning of November, a ship from *France*, in which the Pere l'Abbé, a French Missionary, went passenger, anchored in the *Bay de Buen Suceso*, on the *Tierra del Fuego* side of *Strait le Maire*, where they stopped five days, and had intercourse with the natives. 'These people,' says Pere l'Abbé, 'appeared to me very docile, and I am of opinion that it would not be difficult to convert them.' After passing *Strait le Maire*, they met another ship, named *le Prince des Asturies*, and on December the 26th, arrived at *la Concepcion*, where they found three French ships named, *les Deux Couronnes*, *le St. Jean Baptiste*, and *le Comte de Torigny*; all three ready to depart for *Europe*. One of these ships, the *St. Jean Baptiste*, it appears sailed through *Strait le Maire* in her homeward passage.

In the same year, *l'Incarnacion*, a large ship 'of three decks,' which the French had taken from the Portuguese, sailed from *Rio Janeiro* for the *South Sea* under the command of M. Brignon  
of

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\* *Journal des Obs. Phys. &c. par le R. P. Louis Feuillée*, Vol. III, p. 67.

of *St. Malo*. M. Frezier relates that she fell in with ‘ the *Sebald de Weerts*, which are three small Islands, about half a league long, ‘ lying triangularwise \*.’ L’Incarnacion was afterwards bought by the Viceroy of *Peru* for the service of the King of *Spain*.

CHAP. 11.  
Of the  
position of  
the Sebald  
de Weert  
Isles.  
1712.

In the course of the year 1712, the French ships hereafter mentioned, were on the coast of *Chili* and *Peru*.

The *St. Charles*, which ship was bought by the Spaniards.

The ship *Le Clerc*, commanded by M. Boislorete.

The *Solide*, of 50 guns, commanded by M. Ragueine, an officer of the French Marine.

The *Mariane de Marseilles*, commanded by M. Pisson.

*La Vierge de Grace*, of *St. Malo*.

The *Concord*, commanded by Pradet Daniel of *St. Malo*, which ship had been detached from the squadron of M. du Guay Trouin in the *West Indies*, with a lading of prize goods to sell in *Chili* and *Peru*.

A ship named l’*Assomption*, commanded by M. Le Brun.

The *St. Joseph* of *St. Malo*, commanded by Duchéne Battas.

The *Marie*, Jardais Daniel, commander.

In the month of November the French ship *la Reine d’Espagne*, commanded by Brunet, stopped in a bay in *Strait le Maire*, supposed to be the *Bay de Buen Suceso*. ‘ She ‘ anchored at the entrance in 10 fathoms, oozy sand; and watered ‘ from a small river on the larboard hand within the *Bay*. This ‘ water had a reddish cast, but it became clear, and was good. ‘ Some natives came to them in a friendly manner: the weather ‘ was

\* The *Sebald de Weerts* are not represented in a triangular position as described by Frezier, either in the English Chart composed from the Journal and drawings of Captain Macbride and published with the Voyage of Commodore Byron, or in the Spanish Chart of 1788. Dom Pernety, both in his account and in his Chart of the *Malouines*, has ascribed to them a triangular position. It is to be observed, that if a range of Islands which are situated in a direct line, are of different elevations, their situations will at a distance appear to be oblique. In the present case, the English Chart merits the preference, having the track of the ship described on it.



**PART II.** ' was extremely cold, nevertheless most of them were quite  
 1712. ' naked, and they were almost as white as Europeans.'

The *St. Clement*, a French ship of 50 guns, commanded by Jacinte Gardin of *St. Malo*. In their passage outward-bound round *Cape Horne*, they saw a *Volcano* on the *Tierra del Fuego*; which Frezier has marked on his chart.

Volcano on  
the *Tierra*  
*del Fuego*.

This year, some Frenchmen under the direction of a person of the name of Apremont established a fishery on the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. The ship *St. Charles*, then belonging to the Spaniards, going thither to take a cargo of salt-fish, was wrecked on the Island; but all the crew were saved.

In this year also (1712) M. Frezier went from *France* to *Chili*.

Voyage of  
M. Frezier.

M. Frezier was not a sea commander, nor even of the profession of a mariner; but an officer of Engineers in the French King's service, who made a voyage to the *South Sea*, of which at his return he published an account, under the title of *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*. His Journal is one of observation and description, his researches being professedly directed to supply what was wanting in the Journal of Pere Feuillée. It appears in the Dedication of his Journal, which he addressed to the Regent Duc d'Orleans, that he was appointed to make the voyage to collect information, and to make plans of the places he visited. Frezier's *Relation du Voyage* contains much both of the natural and civil history of *Chili* and *Peru*; but the maritime parts of his work only will be noticed in the present account.

M. Frezier embarked 'in quality of an officer' on board the ship *St. Joseph*, of 350 tons burthen, belonging to merchants of *St. Malo*, carrying 36 guns and 135 men, and commanded by M. Duchéne Battas. On November the 23d, 1711, they went out of the port and anchored in the outer road, where they were long detained by unfavourable winds. Whilst there, they witnessed the following strange accident. A large French privateer,

vateer, named *la Grande Bretagne*, came in from sea intending to anchor in the road ; instead of which, she drifted on the rocks and was wrecked, in consequence of the buoy-rope through neglect being kept fast within board when the anchor was let go, and which was thereby prevented from taking the ground. Three men of the crew were drowned.

CHAP. 11.

1712.

January.

Accident  
by which a  
Ship was  
wrecked.

Towards the end of January, 1712, the *St. Joseph*, and the *Marie*, of 120 tons, commanded by Daniel, quitted the coast of *France* in company. February the 16th, they anchored at the Island *St. Vincent*, in the bay opposite to the Island *St. Antonio*. Frezier advises in entering this bay, to be prepared for squalls or sudden gusts of wind, which come from the mountain to the North East.

C. de Verde  
Islands.  
St. Vincent.

On searching for fresh water in a cove on the North side of the bay, where a river runs during the greater part of the year, they found the bed of the river quite dry. Near the outer point on the West side of the bay, they found a small stream or drain of fresh water, and by digging a pit to collect it, they were enabled to complete watering the ships in two days ; but ‘ this water when first taken was not of the best, and with seven or eight days keeping, smelt so badly that it was a punishment to be necessitated to drink it.’

The inhabitants on *St. Vincent* were negroes, and had so little confidence in the honesty of white men, that on the arrival of the ships, they abandoned their houses from apprehension of being carried away and sold. Good fish were caught in plenty with hook and line, besides which, the ships found little refreshment at *Saint Vincent*. They therefore sailed next for *Brasil*.

In a plan M. Frezier has given of the bay in the Island *St. Vincent*, the North is made to point downwards, contrary to the more general custom. It is true that there is no reason on scientific principles why the North should be uppermost in a chart rather than the South, and the custom seems to have

## PART II.

1712.

proceeded from the accident of charts being an invention of the Northern hemisphere, which circumstance without contest obtained this preference for the North. Some Hydrographers however, in delineations of coasts or seas in South latitude, have thought it most consonant with astronomical principles to make the South uppermost, as being towards the elevated Pole. This being in opposition to the ideas instilled by early education, and but seldom practised, may sometimes occasion perplexity. For the South being uppermost in Frezier's plan of the *Bay of St. Vincent*, there is no apparent reason, the Island *St. Vincent* being in North latitude.

Island S<sup>a</sup>  
Katalina.

March the 31st, they anchored at the Island S<sup>a</sup> *Katalina*, where they obtained supplies from the Portuguese, not without difficulty, because, not long before, a French squadron commanded by du Guay Trouin, had taken the city of *Rio Janeiro*, and had made the Portuguese pay ransom for it.

The Island S<sup>a</sup> *Katalina* is described one continued forest of trees, green all the year. The Portuguese who inhabited there were so desirous of European clothing, that they sold their provisions for small pieces of linen rather than for money. Frezier remarked of them, that ' they were a ragged people, but ' lived in the enjoyment of plenty of the necessaries of life, and ' of a healthy climate, and they seemed to be most sensible of ' their own happiness when they saw us seeking after money ' with so much pains.'

Strait le  
Maire.

The Three  
Brothers.

April the 12th, they sailed from S<sup>a</sup> *Katalina*, and on May the 8th, arrived at *Strait le Maire*, which M. Frezier says, is easily known by three uniform hills, named the *Three Brothers*, contiguous to each other on the *Tierra del Fuego*; ' beyond ' which, towards the South, you see appearing above them a ' high mountain in form of a sugar-loaf, and covered with snow. ' About a league to the East of the three hills is the *Cape de* ' *S. Vicente*, which is low, as is the *Cape San Diego*, which is ' more advanced. As you approach these Capes from the ' NNW,

‘ NNW, you open the *Strait le Maire*, which it is necessary  
 ‘ to remark, because vessels, and lately *La Incarnacion* and  
 ‘ *La Concorde*, believed that they passed through the *Strait*,  
 ‘ although they went to the East of *Staten Land* and saw  
 ‘ land only on the West side of them, they being deceived by  
 ‘ hills on the *Staten Land* which resembled the *Three Brothers*,  
 ‘ and by some bays similar to those in the *Tierra del Fuego*.’  
 This misconception must have happened in foggy or hazy  
 weather, otherwise the absence of land to the East would have  
 explained to them their situation. The variation of the compass  
 in *Strait le Maire* was at this time 24° Easterly. In the passage  
 round *Cape Horne*, the *St. Joseph* and *Marie* were separated.

CHAP. 11.  
1712.

M. Frezier advises, that every ship in doubling *Cape Horne*  
 from the Eastward ‘ should make of Southing and Westing half  
 as much more as they think will be necessary, on account of the  
 great prevalence both of Westerly winds and of currents which  
 may set them back.’ All who have given counsel for passing  
 round *Cape Horne* from the *Atlantic*, agree, that with unfavour-  
 able winds it is desirable to keep a good distance to the South  
 of the *Tierra del Fuego*; but it would be waste of a fair wind  
 to give up much ground, and especially of Westing, to gain  
 offing beyond half a degree South of *Cape Horne*.

The *Marie* put into *Baldivia*. June the 18th, the *St. Joseph*  
 anchored at *la Concepcion*, and saluted the town with seven guns,  
 to which, ‘ according to the custom of the place, none were  
 returned.’ Here were lying the French ships, *la Mariane* of  
*Marseilles*, and *la Concorde* of *St. Malo*, which had been  
 detached by M. du Guay Trouin from *Brasil* to this coast, laden  
 with the spoils taken at *Rio Janeiro*.

At La Con-  
cepcion.

Frezier in describing the natives of *Chili*, questions the accounts  
 published by the Missionaries of their progress in converting the  
 Indians. Concerning the inhabitants of the more Southern  
 parts of *America*, Frezier collected the following information.  
 ‘ The Indians of the country near *Chiloe* are called *Chonos*.

Of the  
Natives of  
*Chili*.

‘ But

PART II.  
1712.

Patago-  
nians.

‘ But farther inland is a nation of Indian giants whom they  
‘ call *Cauca-hues*. They live in peace with the *Chonos*, and  
‘ sometimes come with them to the habitations of the Spaniards  
‘ at *Chiloe*. Don Pedro Molina, who has been Governor of the  
‘ Island *Chiloe*, and some others who had been in that country,  
‘ told me, that the *Cauca-hues* approached to four *varas* in  
‘ height, that is to say, nearly to nine or ten feet. These are  
‘ the same people who are called *Patagons*, and inhabit the  
‘ East coast of the desert country, as mentioned in the old  
‘ accounts; all which have been since treated as fabulous,  
‘ because there have been seen in the *Strait of Magalhães*  
‘ Indians of a size which did not surpass that of other men:  
‘ but the people of the *Jaques of St. Malo*, in July 1704, saw  
‘ seven of these giants in the *Bay de San Gregorio* \*.

The Southern Settlements of the Spaniards in *Chili* were thought so much less secure than the Northern, that the force kept there was composed principally of men sentenced to that service as a punishment for crimes or misdemeanors.

At this time, negotiations for peace were in great forwardness in *Europe*, and the Spanish Government began to wish the French would discontinue their visits to the *South Sea*. Whilst M. Frezier was at *la Concepcion*, the Governor received an order from the President or Captain-General of *Chili* to make all the French ships which were lying there immediately quit the port. This order, Frezier says, was given on occasion *d’une galanterie d’éclat*, and was not rigidly enforced. The ships *l’Assomption*, and the *St. Joseph*, were suffered to continue in the port long after the order arrived, that they might dispose of as much of their merchandise as would enable them to pay for the victualling their ships.

Frezier has given a plan of the harbour *de la Concepcion*. Pere Feuillée had before given one, and Frezier is at the pains of  
of

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\* Frezier, p. 77-78. Edit. of 1732.

of pointing out what appeared to him defective in P. Feuillée's plan. He has done this in several instances where they have each drawn plans of the same place, and in a style of disrespectful levity towards Pere Feuillée, whose astronomical observations he treats with little deference. Some of these criticisms are rendered more conspicuous by being made the subject of a prefatory *Avertissement* to his *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*. This was an attack unnecessary, and seems to have been no other way provoked than by Frezier being emulous to eclipse Pere Feuillée's reputation for science. It was in the power of any person, by comparing the plans, to see in what particulars they differed. A plan must be extraordinarily correct in which a new survey shall not discover error. In fact, every survey that differs from a former, tacitly accuses it of incorrectness, and M. Frezier might have rested satisfied with producing plans different from those of Pere Feuillée, and have forborne other comment or comparison: it would then have remained with Pere Feuillée to attack the variations, or to acquiesce in them. Frezier has not softened the matter by the kind of apology he makes for P. Feuillée, who he remarks 'was not at a fit age to undertake the rude exercises which are necessary in making large plans, and which require the exertions of a young man capable of fatigue.'

*La Concepcion*, or *Penco* as the town is called by the Indian natives, a name which signifies fresh water being found there, Frezier says, is the best place on the whole coast for ships to stop at, both for the plentifulness and for the good quality of the supplies to be obtained there; 'and though the town to speak of it properly is only to be called a village, we found agreeable society to relieve us from the wearisomeness we had so long endured in a ship by being constantly shut up with the same people.'

In September the St. Joseph sailed to *Valparaiso*, where they were received with rather more civility than at *la Concepcion*,  
September.  
Valparaiso.  
for

PART II.

1712.

September.

for on saluting the town with seven guns, they were complimented with one gun in return.

M. Frezier wished to see the City of *Santiago*, the capital of *Chili*, but would not ask for permission, lest enquiry should be made into his profession and business. Under pretence of going to *la Concepcion* to embark in a ship bound to *France*, he was allowed to go to *Santiago* as being in the way by land to *la Concepcion*. His abode there was shortened in consequence of an affray which happened between the Spanish Custom-house officers and some French seamen at *la Concepcion*, in which a Spanish soldier was killed. The anger against the French which the news of this affair produced at *Santiago*, made M. Frezier think it prudent for him to return to his ship. The Captain of *la Vierge de Grace* was condemned to make satisfaction for the resistance shewn to the officers of customs and for what had happened in consequence, by payment of a fine of 9000 pieces of eight.

Frezier remarks that the climate at *Valparaiso* is so accommodating to all vegetation, that the fruits are coming forward throughout the year. 'In the same apple-tree may be seen ' fruit of all ages; in flower, in blossom, apples just formed, ' half grown, and quite ripe, all together.' In eight months that Frezier remained at *Valparaiso*, thirty vessels departed thence laden with corn, the average burthen of each being estimated at 6000 fanegas or sacks. The fanega is 150lbs, and the price of a fanega of corn at *Valparaiso* was from 18 to 22 reals. The French found the market for European goods very heavy. Three of the commanders, on a speculation that a peace would put an end to the granting licenses to the ships of *France* to enter the Spanish ports in the *South Sea*, and that the value of European goods would be enhanced there in consequence, bound themselves by mutual agreement, under penalty of 50,000 crowns forfeiture, not to sell their goods under certain specified prices. The Captain of the *St. Joseph* was one of the parties in this agreement.

In

In January 1713, the ship *St. Clement* arrived at *Valparaiso*, and in company with her a French ship of 20 guns. The *St. Clement* sailed under Spanish colours, in consequence of her Captain, Gardin, having a license from the Spanish government to trade on the coast, which he had purchased for 50,000 crowns.

CHAP. II.  
1713.

In or about the month of February, two French ships, one of them of 44 guns commanded by M. de Ragucine Mareuil, the other of 16 guns commanded by M. Bocage of *Havre*, arrived on the American coast from *China*, laden with silks and East-India goods.

In May, the *St. Jean Baptiste*, commanded by M. Ville-morin, in passing through *Strait le Maire* was becalmed, and some inhabitants of the *Tierra del Fuego* in two boats went off to her. The complexion of these people was remarked to be nearly as white as that of Europeans. They were eager to obtain any thing red, insomuch that one of them, it is related, on seeing a fowl with a red crest, tore it off to carry away\*.

May.

In the same month (May 1713,) a Tartan† named the *Saint Barbe*, commanded by M. Marcand, outward-bound from *Europe* to *Chili* and *Peru*, entered the *Strait of Magalhanes*, and by accident discovered on the *Tierra del Fuego* side of the *Strait*, another channel or strait till then unknown, through which he sailed into the *South Sea*. M. Frezier has given the following account of this discovery.

Passage  
of the  
St. Barbe.

‘ At six in the morning, on May the 15th, the *St. Barbe* got  
‘ under sail from *Elizabeth Bay* (which is on the North side of  
‘ the *Strait*) and steering SW and SW b S, those on board her  
‘ mistook the usual channel for that of the *Riviere du Massacre*  
‘ [or

\* *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 58.

† A small vessel much in use in the *Mediterranean*, having only one mast and a bowsprit: the principal sail is triangular and extended on a lateen yard.  
*Falconer*.



## PART II.

1713.

Passage  
of the  
S<sup>t</sup> Barbe.

[or *Canal de San Jerome*,—See Beauchesne's Voyage,] and continued steering to the SW towards an Island which they took for the *Isle Dauphine*, assisted by a current in their favour and a good fresh of wind from the NE. They ranged along this Island, and an hour after having passed it, they found they were in a broad channel, where on the Southern hand, they saw no other land than a quantity of little Islets intermixed with breakers. Then perceiving they had missed their way, they sought for anchorage, in order that they might have time to send their boat to reconnoitre where they were; and they found a small bay where they anchored in 14 fathoms, the bottom grey sand and small white gravel.'

The morning of the 26th of May, they got under sail at seven o'clock, and after making some tacks to get out of the bay which is open to the ESE, they directed the course to South, to Sb W, and to SSW, and at noon found themselves clear out from the lands; they took an observation, having very fair weather, which gave their latitude 54° 34' S. This observation was confirmed by that which they made the next day, when in sight of an Islet, which bore from them East true, they observed 54° 29.'

This Islet was to the South of a large Island, the SE point of which was named *Cape Noir*, because it is of that colour. The Islet here spoken of, is a rock in form like a very high tower, by the side of which there is one smaller nearly of the same shape, from which it is evident that it would be impossible to miss this channel, if it were sought for by the latitude, having such singular marks. The crew of the vessel say that the bottom is good, and that great ships may sail through without danger, the breadth being about two leagues.'

This Strait is perhaps the same as that of *Jelouchté* which M. de Lisle has put in his last chart of *Chili*; but as the English memoirs which he was pleased to shew me seem to place it [the *Jelouchté*] to the South from *Cape Froward*, it may  
be

‘ be imagined there are two different Straits. It may also be  
 ‘ the same by which a boat of the squadron of M. de Gennes  
 ‘ penetrated in 1696.’

CHAP. 11.

1713.

Passage  
of the  
St Barbe.

The fact of the foregoing account seems to be, that Marcand had had charts of the *Strait*, if he had any; and that on the morning of the 15th, it was not from *Elizabeth Bay* he weighed anchor, but from some part considerably more to the Eastward; otherwise it could scarcely have happened to him to mistake the main channel of the *Strait* for the *Canal de San Jerome*, and *Whale Bay* for the main channel of the *Strait*. The author of the *Noticia de las Expediciones al Magalhães* relates the discovery in the following manner. ‘ M. Marcand in the Tartan St<sup>a</sup> Barbara, ‘ endeavouring to pass through the *Strait of Magalhães* without good charts or other proper intelligence, entered one of ‘ the many channels which are in the *Tierra del Fuego*, and ‘ without knowing how, found himself after a few hours of navigation in the *Pacific Ocean* \*.’

What English memoirs on this subject M. de Lisle could shew to Frezier, there is no clue for conjecturing. The *Saint Barbe*, after sailing through the newly discovered *Strait*, proceeded to *Chili* and *Peru*, where Frezier met with her Captain.

The information M. Frezier collected from the commanders of different vessels, induced him to make a chart *de l’extrémité meridionale de l’Amérique, ou sont comprises les nouvelles Isles*, i. e. ‘ of the Southern extremity of *America*, in which are comprised the *Nouvelles Isles*.’ In this chart M. Frezier has displayed his new materials with pains and good judgment; his *Isles Nouvelles* in particular, which are put in a much more improved shape than had been given to them in any former chart, with the exception that the *Beauchesne* is made two Islands without any explanation being given. In the other parts of his chart;

Frezier’s  
Chart of the  
Southern  
Extremity  
of America.

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\* *Noticia*, p. 176.

**PART II.** chart, he has shewn much want of care and some want of  
**1713.** information.

**Bay of** To proceed with Frezier's voyage in the St. Joseph: In May  
**Coquimbo.** she sailed from *Valparaiso* to *Coquimbo*, where a short time before,  
the French ship *le Solide* lost two anchors by anchoring too near  
to two small rocks or islets called *Paxaros Niños*, which lie  
**Paxaros** about a quarter of a league distant from the South point of the  
**Niños.** Bay, the rockiness of the bottom cutting her cables.

The Captain of the St. Joseph proposed remaining longer in  
*Chili* than suited the views of M. Frezier, who therefore quitted  
the ship at *Coquimbo*, and embarked in a Spanish vessel that  
was bound to *Callao*.

**June.** His progress to *Callao* was close along the coast. At *Copiapo*  
the vessel took in a cargo of sulphur. Scarcity of fresh water is  
the evil most generally complained of on this coast: the country  
Northward of *Copiapo* is so burnt up, that cattle are starved for  
want of herbage; and Frezier says that in the course of  
80 leagues there is but one river.

**Road of** The vessel stopped at *Arica*. In the road is a small Island  
**Arica.** called *Guano*, which breaks off the swell of the sea at the custo-  
mary anchorage; but being directly to windward, the stench of  
bird's dung with which it is covered, is very offensive, and in  
summer is thought to make the port unwholesome. Ten or  
twelve vessels load here and at the *Island Yquique* every year  
with this dung, or a yellowish earth compounded of the dung  
and the soil, which is called *guana*, which they carry to the  
Continent, where it is used for manure, and so wonderfully  
fertilizes the earth, that in the valley of *Arica*, it yields 400  
and 500 for one of every kind of grain. Ships obtain fresh  
water at *Arica* by digging at low water about half a foot deep  
in the sand whence the sea has retired, and in these shallow  
cavities, they find fresh water tolerably good, which keeps  
well at sea\*.

Whilst

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\* Frezier, pp. 135-137.

Whilst Frezier was at *Arica*, news arrived there that a suspension of arms had been agreed to in *Europe*, and that orders had arrived from *Spain* to oblige all the French who were in *Peru* and *Chili* to embark and return to *Europe*; that otherwise their effects would be confiscated.

CHAP. 11.

1713.

August.

The vessel in which Frezier was, stopped next at *Ylo*. Most of the houses there had been built, and were then inhabited, by Frenchmen, who had cleared the ground of wood to nearly a league distance from the sea. Two French ships were lying in *Ylo Road*, which were those commanded by Ragueine Mareuil and Bocage, which had some months before arrived from *China*. On account of the prohibitions, Ragueine purchased or hired a vessel of the Spaniards, in which he lodged his East-India cargo, that his own ship might be in a condition to undergo search. M. Frezier embarked here with Ragueine.

Ylo.

September the 10th, they anchored in the Road of *Pisco*, in five fathoms. Ships water here at a small river, half a league Northward of the Town; and sometimes they get fresh water by digging in the sands as at *Arica*.

September.  
Pisco.

In the course of the same month, they arrived at *Callao*, where upwards of twenty sail of shipping, Spaniards and French, were at anchor. On the 30th, the Viceroy of *Peru* came to *Callao*, and made a visit on board the ship *la Incarnacion*, which the French had taken from the Portuguese, and had now sold to the Viceroy for the service of the King of *Spain*. He was saluted with thirteen guns by each of the other ships in the Road.

Callao.

Frezier visited *Lima*, of which he has given a plan. In his description of that city, he computed the number of inhabitants to be between 25,000 and 28,000, of whom about one-third were whites.

In October he embarked in the ship *Mariane de Marseilles*, bound for *France*, and November the 12th arrived at *la Concepcion*, where were lying the French ships *St. Jean Baptiste*,

October.

November.  
At la Con-  
cepcion.

Baptiste,

**PART II.** **1713.** Baptiste, le François, and le Pierre, all of *St. Malo*. The 25th, intelligence was received from *Callao*, of peace having been concluded, and the news was accompanied with a repetition of the order for the French to depart. The French however  
**December.** were not in haste ; and on the 9th of December, the President of *Chili* issued a proclamation commanding that they should be compelled to embark in two days, and forbidding the inhabitants after that time to furnish any who should be found remaining on shore with provisions or means of subsistence. In this proclamation was noticed that seven ships belonging to Genoese merchants had been fitted out at *Marseilles* intended for the *South Sea*.

Besides the French vessels already named, the following were in the course of the year 1713 on the coast of *Peru* or *Chili*. Le Berger, le Saint Esprit, le Prince de Asturias, la Marguerite ; and in the month of December the same year, and January 1714, there arrived on the coast of *Chili* from *France*, the ship le Martial, which carried 50 guns, le Chancelier, la Mariane, le Bien Aimé, le Poisson Volant, l'Assomption, and another vessel, almost all of them commanded by Malouines, or men of *St. Malo*. French ships also arrived at this time at *la Concepcion* from *Peru*, most of whom had disposed of their cargoes and were homeward bound ; so that there was at *la Concepcion* an assemblage of fifteen French ships, having on board 2,600 men ; which was some cause for alarm, and for the Spaniards to desire their absence.

**1714.**  
**January.** February the 17th, the *César*, a ship of *Marseilles*, arrived at *la Concepcion*, and two days after, four ships departed in company from *la Concepcion* for *France*, one of them being la Mariane, in which M. Frezier was passenger ; but she sailed badly, and the others separated from her before passing round *Cape Horne* ; which passage, instead of going through the *Strait of Magalhães*, appears to have been most generally preferred,  
 from

from the apprehension of making some mistake in coming in with the West entrance of the *Strait*.

April the 8th, the *Mariane* came in sight of the Island *Trinidad*, not the *Trinidad* near the coast of *Paria*, but the smaller Island of that name in  $20\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$  South latitude and about  $12^{\circ}$  degrees of longitude East of the coast of *Brasil*. At this Island the *Mariane* anchored, in 30 fathoms, the bottom sand but rocky, about four cables length W  $\frac{1}{2}$  N, or W b N true, from a round conical rock like a tower which lies near the SW part of the Island. A boat was sent to search for better anchoring ground, which they found farther Northward, with 25 fathoms depth, the bottom coarse black sand; to the NNW of a cleft Islet\*.

A fine cascade of fresh water was found, which would have supplied a whole squadron; but at the place of landing the sea was rough, and a quantity of great stones kept rolling about on the shore, which made landing and loading dangerous, so that in a whole forenoon they got off only two small casks of water. It was determined therefore not to stop here longer.

Frezier claims credit for keeping a very correct sea reckoning, and he has remarked with some reason against an erroneous method of marking the log-line which was then practised. The difference between the meridians of *la Concepcion* and the Island *Trinidad* he makes by his reckoning to be  $43^{\circ} 10'$ , which is almost exactly the same difference as between Dr. Halley's longitude of *Trinidad* ( $29^{\circ} 50'$  W from *London*) and Pere Feuillée's longitude of *la Concepcion* ( $75^{\circ} 34' 30''$  W from the B. Observatory at *Paris*†.)

Some doubt had formerly been entertained whether another Island did not exist near to this Island *Trinidad*; and in some of the old charts, a second Island is laid down with the name *Acençon*.

\* Frezier, p. 267.

† The present tables give the difference of longitude between the two places  $43^{\circ} 33'$ .

CHAP. 21.

1714.

April.

Island  
Trinidad.

**PART II.** *Acençon or Ascencion*\*. Frezier, trusting to the old accounts, and having some appetite for controversy, chose to call the Island he now saw, *Ascençon*. He notices the small isles or rocks known by the name of *Martin Vaz*, Eastward of the large Island. 'These three Islets,' he says, 'have caused some persons to imagine that this Island and the Island called *Trinidad* were only the same, because it has happened to ships to seek for the other by its latitude without finding it: but I know also that vessels have found it in returning from the *East Indies*, and have even supplied themselves with fresh water there from a pond. It is therefore *mal-à-propos* that Edmund Halley has suppressed in his large chart the Island *Trinidad*, and that he has called by that name this Island of *Ascençon*.'

1714.  
April.  
Island  
Trinidad.

Frezier made a chart to shew his track from *St. Malo* to *Chili* and back to *Europe*. After strenuously insisting that there were two separate Islands, an *Ascençon* and a *Trinidad*, near the coast of *Brasil*, it was incumbent on him to have given each of them a place in his chart; nevertheless, he has laid down only one which he calls *Ascençon*, and *Trinidad* is omitted, which amounts merely to an alteration of the name. With as little consideration, he ventured to make remarks on Dr. Halley's chart of the Variations. Frezier was more eager to press forward than at pains to be correct. His own chart he has dignified with curved lines designed to shew the progression of the variation of the compass; and he has fixed upon a central point as a magnetic pole, at about 250 leagues to the ESE from *Cape Horne*.

Dr. Halley thought proper to answer M. Frezier, to defend the suppression complained of, by explaining his reasons for believing that no other Island existed near that part of the *Atlantic* than the one Island which himself had seen in 1700, and which Frezier had seen in 1714. This answer Dr. Halley sent

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\* Different from the Island in the *Atlantic* at which homeward-bound ships from the *East Indies* frequently stop to take turtle.



sent to the editor of the English translation of Frezier's Voyage whilst it was in the press, and it was published with the Translation. (*London*, printed 1717.)

CHAP. 11.  
1714.

The *Mariane* stopped at *Bahia de Todos los Santos*, and there rejoined the ships which had separated from her near *Cape Horne*. She afterwards stopped at the *Western Islands*, and in August arrived at *Marseilles*.

It has been remarked of Frezier's Voyage, that it furnishes excuse for the reserve of the Spaniards respecting their American possessions. It does not appear, however, that they considered his visit, or his account of it, as injurious to them.

At the time Frezier's *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud* was published, only two volumes of Pere Feuillée's *Observations* had appeared. The third volume was then in the press, and in a critical preface to it, he replied to the attacks of Frezier, on whose descriptions he did not fail to retaliate. M. Frezier, he describes to be, '*Pilote sans étude, observateur sans instrumens*,' who immediately on setting his foot on board a ship wrote long dissertations on the log and on sea reckoning, '*mais a un mauvais auteur tout est bon pour grossir son ouvrage*.' He remarks on the vanity of Frezier in attributing to his own capacity the merit due to the officers of the ship who marked the courses and distances on the log-board. Frezier returned to the charge, and wrote *Une Réponse a la Preface Critique*. In this *réponse* he has with much wit accused his antagonist of unnecessary prolixity in the account he has given of his observations. 'To what purpose,' he demands, 'does Pere Feuillée enter into the minute details of his observations and calculations to describe an operation in which there is nothing new, with setting forth all the common process of his sines and logarithms? Have those who have given us Astronomical Tables and Tables of Logarithms done us wrong in suppressing the immense calculations which they were obliged to make? If P. Feuillée observes the latitude, he employs five lines instead

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3 T

' of



PART II. ‘ of two words. At noon, he says, I observed the complement  
‘ of the meridian altitude of the sun, so much ; its declination  
‘ calculated for the same meridian was found to be, so much ;  
‘ whence the elevation of the pole must be, so much. Now,  
‘ a less able man would at once say, latitude observed,  
‘ and that would be enough.’

This is worth attention. In justification of Pere Feuillée it is to be observed, that the scientific part of navigation was then understood in a very moderate degree by mariners generally. Few, in computing their observations for the latitude, thought of applying any allowance to the numbers in the tables of the sun’s declination, on account of any difference in the meridian of the place of observation from the meridian for which the tables were calculated. School examples were then of considerable use, and Pere Feuillée’s were of the best. It is also proper in determining the latitude or longitude of a place to which an erroneous position had long been assigned, to produce all the particulars which authorize the correction.

Without being called for by occasions such as above mentioned, the practice of inserting in the history of a voyage long calculations throughout the whole of their process, has of late years obtained to a most extravagant and oppressive degree. If half the account of a voyage is found to consist of figures and mathematical dissertation, what reader will not wish that this part had been published separate? It is not very reasonable that those who desire to purchase the history of a voyage should have imposed upon them the additional expence of a school-book of 700 pages ; or that those who desire to have only the instruction should not be able to obtain it, without purchasing also the history. The giving publicity to observations in their uncalculated state can be no guarantee of their fidelity, unless they are sent to the press fresh from the instrument ; and if they are intended as evidence for the results being correctly given, by whom will they be examined? There is small probability

bability that a single lunar distance in the hundred, of the calculations published of late, will be recomputed by any person. The importance of very few observations renders the publication of the whole calculation respecting them necessary. For the rest, if the figures are thought worth being preserved, they might be lodged in the public libraries, where, if they are never enquired after, they will be of no cost to any one. Le Pere Feuillée was one of the first travellers who detailed his observations at much length. They were excellent and of much value, and in the quantity of figures published fell far short of those of which the world has lately had reason to complain: nevertheless, he did not escape being censured for prolixity.

CHAP. 11.

1714.

The following account is extracted from a Memoir written by M. Pingré.

‘ Not many years ago, a mariner of *St. Malo*, named Bernard de la Harpe, printed at *Rennes*, a Treatise on the discoveries of Southern Lands, entitled *Un Memoir pour la France servant à la découverte des Terres Australes*. 15 pp. in 4to. He reports in it, that in 1714, the Captain of a Spanish Brigantine, going from *Callao* bound for the *Island Chiloe*, finding himself in 38° S latitude, and 550 leagues to the West of *Chili*, discovered a high land, which he coasted during a day. By fires which he perceived during the night, he judged this land to be inhabited. Contrary winds afterwards obliging him to stop at *la Concepcion*, he found there the ship *le François*, of *St. Malo*, commanded by M. du Fresne Marion; who has affirmed that the journal of the Spanish Captain was communicated to him, and that he found therein the fact to be stated as above reported. Those who know M. Marion, know him to be a sensible intelligent officer, and a man of veracity; consequently not liable to be deceived, or capable of deceiving any person\*.’

Reported  
Discovery  
of Land  
in 38° S  
Latitude.

\* *Memoir sur le choix des lieux ou le passage de Venus du 3 Juin 1769, pourra être observé avec le plus d'avantage*, p. 70. Paris, 1767.

PART II.  
1714.

It is farther related, that the Brigantine, on standing back to the Continent, was not able to make the coast in so high a latitude as  $38^{\circ}$  S.

It is some corroboration of the foregoing account, that the name *le François* is found among the ships known to have been at that time in the *South Sea*; and it has been supposed that the land seen by the Spanish Brigantine is the same which so long before as in the year 1576, was reported to have been discovered by *Juan Fernandez*\*.

The distance of the Brigantine's discovery from the American coast, joined to the circumstance of her making the coast of *Chili* afterwards in a less latitude than 38 degrees, suggested a doubt to Mr. Dalrymple, that the Brigantine saw the land discovered by the Buccancer Chief, Edward Davis, and that by mistake in transcribing, the latitude has been delivered to us  $38^{\circ}$  S, instead of  $28^{\circ}$  S.† Since the publication of Mr. Dalrymple's opinion, search has been made for land in  $38^{\circ}$  S; and in late times, the tracks of many ships have crossed this part of the *South Sea*, without finding any indication of the land in question.

L. G. de la  
Barbinais.

The next navigation of the French to the *South Sea* to be noticed, is of *Le Gentil de la Barbinais*, if such a voyage was really made by such a person. The account is full of obscurity, which may have proceeded from the ignorance of the writer on maritime subjects, and from his general want of judgment. M. de Brosse has allowed credit to the narration as being genuine, observing at the same time that it was one of small importance to the history of navigation or commerce. It is given in the form of letters, addressed to some unnamed correspondent. The author it is probable went as  
supercargo

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\* See Vol. I, Chap. XVIII, on Reports concerning the Discovery of a Southern Continent.

† Investigation of what farther may be expected in the *South Sea*, p. 19, Dalrymple's *Hist. Coll. of Discoveries in the South Sea*, Vol. II.

supercargo or agent for the owners of the ship in which he sailed ; he remarks that in consequence of the conventions subsisting between *France* and *Spain*, and of the orders issued, that it behoved those who equipped vessels for *Chili* or *Peru*, to keep their own counsel. Holding this maxim in mind, he informs his reader that he departed in a vessel named le V . . . from the Bay de C . . . This, however, appears to be not unnecessary discretion; for ‘ the owners,’ la Barbinais relates, ‘ provided our ship le V . . . with an English commission, in the name of an Englishman who sailed with us with the title of Captain, but without exercising the functions ; and that we might the better pass for English, we engaged a number of English sailors as part of our crew.’

CHAP. II.

1714.

L. G. de la Barbinais.

The author proceeds to relate that they departed from the coast of *France* in the end of August, 1714. They touched at *Isla Grande* near the coast of *Brasil*, where he says he saw wild monkies as large as calves. December the 29th, they left *Isla Grande*, and la Barbinais relates, as confidently as the oldest mariner would do, the sequel of their navigation. ‘ The first land we saw after leaving *Brasil*, was the *Tierra del Fuego*, and a Cape named *Cape Virgenes*. Our pilot thought he saw *Strait le Maire* behind this Cape. We made sail to enter it, but were glad to come out again, the supposed Strait being no other than a gulf full of rocks. The wind increased, and our loss seemed inevitable. I considered fear in situations of this kind to be an effect of reason ; and courage, whether true or false, to be insensibility, generally proceeding from want of judgment. But the desire of philosophising is carrying me too far. The *Tierra del Fuego* was discovered by Magellan, and has since been found to be only a considerable number of high Islands. A vessel may stop in a case of necessity, in a small port named *Port Desire* in one of the Islands of the *Tierra del Fuego* : the most Southern Cape of these Isles is the one discovered by Captain Hoorn,

‘ to

**PART II.** ' to which he gave his own name ; but *Staten Island* is the  
 1714. ' most Southern land of which we have had any knowledge.'

The above sample is sufficient to explain the qualifications of M. la Barbinais as a sea journalist, to say nothing of him as a moraliser. It remains briefly to finish the sketch of his track, and to mention what is found in his Narrative which it may be useful to notice.

Barbinais relates that another French ship bound to the *South Sea* this year, after passing *Strait le Maire*, was driven into a port of the *Tierra del Fuego*. A violent tempest had obliged them during the night, to take in all sail. At daylight the Captain was greatly astonished to find that the ship had drifted without any guidance into a port formed by many Islands, and to discover as far as could be seen an infinite number of rocks or islets ; and here they remained some days sheltered from the storm.

The ship in which la Barbinais was, in passing *Cape Horne*, went into 61½ of S latitude. In the beginning of March he arrived at *la Concepcion* ; from which place his first letter is dated, and said to be transmitted by the French ship *St. Malo*, which was lying at *la Concepcion* ready to sail for *Europe*.

In June, at *Coquimbo*, he received letters from *France* by the French ship, *le Dauphin*. Other ships also arrived from *France*, in consequence of which, some Spanish merchants who had bought up merchandise from the French, in the belief that no more ships of that nation would come to the *South Sea*, found themselves ruined by their speculation. The *South Sea* trade was also at this time ruinous to many French traders. At *Arica*, the ship in which the author sailed, joined seven others of their nation. He exclaims, ' the stagnation of trade  
 ' from the market being overcharged, has devoted us to  
 ' melancholy. Our day is divided into two portions, one for  
 ' sleeping, the other for having nothing to do. Is it not enough  
 ' to make us lose our gaiety that *France* should have sent forty  
 ' vessels

‘ vessels to *Peru* when six would have sufficed? Some have  
 ‘ been obliged to sell their cargoes at a loss to the merchants  
 ‘ of above 50 per cent, besides running the risk of seizures on  
 ‘ account of the prohibitions.’

CHAP. 11.

March the 4th, 1716, la Barbinais sailed for *China* from  
 a port of *Peru* named *Goacho*, the latitude of which is set down  
 11° 4' S in a plan he has given; but 11° 40' S in his narrative.  
 The course was directed WNW. He relates, ‘ On the 22d of  
 ‘ March, we were by our estimation, under the equinoctial  
 ‘ line in 275° of longitude [reckoned East from the meridian of  
 ‘ *Teneriffe*.] I have never felt heat more oppressive: rain and  
 ‘ thunder joined to render it more incommodious, and we  
 ‘ remained twelve days in a vicissitude of good and bad  
 ‘ weather. The wind absolutely failed us, and we had to  
 ‘ endure all the intemperance of the torrid zone. On the  
 ‘ 5th of April, the wind began to revive. We continued our  
 ‘ route to the WNW, as we had done all the way before. We  
 ‘ saw birds of many kinds usually seen at sea. An owl, which  
 ‘ is extraordinary enough, came and perched upon our masts.  
 ‘ We took him, and he was kept in a cage fifteen days, but  
 ‘ would not eat, and at the end of that time we set him at  
 ‘ liberty. He flew a long while about the ship, and at length  
 ‘ we saw him fall in the water. This owl made us believe that  
 ‘ there was some land near us.’

1716.  
March.

Birds.

La Barbinais afterwards remarks that the wind did not  
 quite settle in their favour till April the 13th; and that on the  
 29th of April, they had advanced on their passage 1338 leagues  
 towards the WNW from *Goacho*. From all the circumstances  
 mentioned, it may be inferred that the ship was not very  
 distant from the *Galapagos Isles* when the owl alighted on  
 her mast.

La Barbinais mentions here, that M. du Bocage of *Havre*,  
 commanding a ship named la *Découverte*, in sailing from *Peru*  
 to *China*, on Good Friday, being in 4° North latitude, and in  
 280° of

Isle de la  
Passion.

**PART II.** 280° of longitude (equal to 19° W from *Valparaiso* according to  
 1716. the tables then in use) discovered a large high rock surrounded with a sand-bank, which he named *Isle de la Passion*. The nearest land to this situation which is known and admitted on the present charts, the *Galapagos Isles* excepted, is a small Island or rock which was seen in 1787, by the English merchant ship *Princess Royal*, commanded by Mr. Charles Duncan, in 6° N latitude, and about 35° West of the meridian of *Valparaiso*. It is named on the charts *Passion Rock*.

May the 30th, *La Barbinais* arrived at *Guahan*, where the ship he was in joined three other French ships, *le Martial*, *le Marquis de Maillebois*, and *la Bien Aimée*; all homeward-bound like themselves from *Peru*. The *Maillebois* had been struck with lightning, by which her Captain had been killed, and the masts of the ship shivered. *La Barbinais* arrived in  
 1718. *France* in the summer of 1718.

Disturbances that happened in *Europe*, revived for a time the trade of the French in the *South Sea*. A squadron of ships of war in the service of the King of *Spain*, but more French than Spaniards in their officers and men, had been employed to drive all the French traders from the *South Sea*; and some French cargoes were confiscated. On symptoms of war being ready to break out again between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, the Spaniards in the *South Sea* gave fresh encouragement to the  
 1720. French. In 1720, a ship of *St. Malo* named the *Solomon*, of 40 guns, was allowed to sell her cargo at *Ylo* without interruption. The success of the *Solomon* had such effect on the *St. Malo* merchants, that they immediately fitted out fourteen sail, which all arrived in the *South Sea* in the beginning of the year 1721, most of them large ships, one named the *Fleur de Lys* being capable of mounting 70 guns. In the same year, a French ship sailed from *China* for *New Spain*, and by running well to the Northward, arrived in the *Bay de Vandas* in less than fifty days;

days; but notwithstanding the shortness of the passage, many of the crew died of the scurvy\*.

CHAP. 11.

1720.

About this time, a Frenchman named Thaylet, was sent by the Viceroy of *Peru* in a small vessel furnished only for a two months voyage, to look for an Island, which the commander of a Spanish vessel reported he had fallen in with in 10° S latitude. 'Thaylet cruised thereabouts till his provision was nearly expended, and returned without success. The Spaniards nevertheless gave credit to there being such a place, as the like account came by two different ships which touched there†.'

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\* *Commodore Anson's Voyage.* By the Rev. R. Walter. Book II. Chap. 10.

† *Voyage round the World.* By W. Betagh. p. 276.



## C H A P. XII.

*The Asiento Contract. The English South Sea Company. Plan for a Voyage of Discovery proposed by John Welbe. Supposed Discovery of Islands near Japan.*

## PART II.

Asiento  
Contract.

Is given to  
the English  
South Sea  
Company.

AT the general peace concluded at *Utrecht* among the European States, a separate treaty was agreed upon between *Great Britain* and *Spain* (signed in April 1713,) by the 12th article of which *Spain* granted to her Britannic Majesty, or to such of her subjects as she should appoint, a contract for supplying the Spanish *West Indies* with negro slaves, for a term of 30 years from the 1st of May 1713, at the rate of 4,800 negroes yearly, the subjects of all other countries (*Spain* not excepted) being by the treaty excluded from introducing negroes into the dominions of his Catholic Majesty during the said term. This sordid and mean privilege (the seeking gain by supplying other countries with slaves being yet more wicked than procuring slaves to do our own work) was called the *Asiento Contract*, a name composed of two words synonymous. The same privilege had been given to the English in or about the year 1689, and they had held it from that time to the breaking out of the war of the Spanish Succession, when it was made over to the French, in whose hands it continued ten years. This was indeed a wretched object for rivalry between two nations reckoned the most civilized in the world. At the peace of *Utrecht*, it was re-transferred to *Great Britain*; and was given by the British administration to the South Sea Company, as was also a license from the King of *Spain* for three ships of certain specified burthens to be permitted annually to carry merchandise to the Spanish *West-Indies*.

The

The Charter of the South Sea Company, similar to Pope Alexander the VIth's Bull of Donation, had bestowed upon the Company, 'from the 1st of August, 1711, for ever,' the sole trade and traffic to the parts of America South from the *River Oronoko*, and to all the West side of *America* both North and South, to the exclusion of all others the subjects of *Great Britain*, the Company being authorized to seize to their own use all British ships trading or haunting within certain limits prescribed. These limits are shewn on a map by a line of demarkation, not a mean imitation of the old Spanish and Portuguese line, which forms a pale round the South and Western coast of *America*, at the distance of some hundred leagues from the coast. The Company were authorized to receive subscriptions towards a joint stock, and, though the war with *Spain* had not terminated, the prospect of a trade to the *South Sea*, procured subscriptions to the amount of more than three millions, before the Charter was signed. The peace which soon followed, with the gift to the Company of the *Asiento Contract*, and the Spanish West-India licenses, created great expectations of their future prosperity; but the project of setting up this Company did not originate with merchants; it was merely a financial expedient, contrived or adopted by the British Ministry, to satisfy the proprietors of debts owing by the government, principally those incurred on account of the navy. These debts were consolidated into one stock, amounting in the whole to 9,471,325 *l*. Provision was made, by appropriating the produce of taxes, for paying interest for the same, at the rate of six *per cent. per annum* till the principal should be discharged. It appears strange at this time, that it should be thought necessary to do any thing farther to content the public creditors; but so it was, and grants were made to them of exclusive licenses and privileges as above related. The several proprietors of these public securities were accordingly incorporated into a Company called the *South Sea Company*. Their

CHAP. 12.

Charter  
of the  
South Sea  
Company.

**PART II.** Charter, confirmed by the British Parliament, specifies the privileges therein granted in the following words: ‘ That the trade to  
 ‘ the *South Seas* may be carried on for the honour and increase  
 ‘ of the wealth of the realm, which cannot so securely be begun  
 ‘ and carried on as by a Corporation with a good joint stock  
 ‘ exclusive of all others ; Be it enacted, that this Company shall  
 ‘ from the 1st of August 1711, be vested for ever in the sole  
 ‘ trade and traffic unto, and from all places in, *America* on the  
 ‘ East side, from the *River Oronoko* to the most Southern part of  
 ‘ *Tierra del Fuego* ; and on the West side thereof, from the  
 ‘ said Southernmost part of *Tierra del Fuego* through the *South*  
 ‘ *Seas* to the Northernmost part of *America*, not exceeding  
 ‘ three hundred leagues in distance from the Continent of  
 ‘ *America* on the West side.

‘ And no British subject shall trade within those limits,  
 ‘ excepting the Company, their agents, and factors, and those  
 ‘ licensed by the Company, under forfeiture of the ships,  
 ‘ merchandise, and double their value\*.’

Such a Charter, though it did not fall into the hands of merchants, ought to have awakened a spirit for mercantile undertakings in the proprietors ; but here, a number of unconnected individuals, of whom no other qualification was required than that of being public creditors, were jumbled together into a trading corporation, and a charter thrust upon them of which they knew not the value ; who had not premeditated any scheme, neither does it appear that they afterwards meditated any, to use their privileges either to their own or to the public advantage. For their own credit, and to justify the exclusion of their countrymen, the Company should have seen the propriety of engaging in some undertaking to the *South Sea* ; but nothing of the kind took place, and the slaves they supplied to *Peru* and *Chili* in virtue of the *Asiento* Contract, were marched overland at the *Isthmus*, or from *Buenos Ayres*.

In

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\* *Anderson's History of Commerce*, Vol. II, and *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, Vol. III.

In 1713, John Welbe, a person who had been in the *South Sea* with Captain Dampier, offered a plan to the British Ministry for a Voyage to make a full discovery of the *Terra Australis*. Welbe was an ingenious but distressed projector, and it appearing that his proposals were made principally with a view to his own relief, they obtained little attention. They were referred to the Admiralty, and afterwards to the South Sea Company, a Committee of which Company examined, and ‘found the matter out of their bounds.’ The heads of Welbe’s scheme were, to give them in his own words, as follows; ‘for  
 ‘a good fourth-rate ship of the Navy to be equipped for the  
 ‘voyage, to carry 180 men, having only her upper tier of guns  
 ‘mounted, leaving the rest ashore for the convenience of  
 ‘stowing additional provisions and for the ease of the ship.  
 ‘The cooking copper to be hung like a still, so that when  
 ‘water is wanted, we can distil salt water and make fresh.  
 ‘Also a brigantine tender to be provided. To go round *Cape Horne*; to the Island *Juan Fernandez*; thence to the *Salomon Islands* discovered 150 years ago by the Spaniards, but the  
 ‘Court of *Spain* did not think fit to settle them by reason they  
 ‘had not entirely settled the main-land of *Peru*. On arriving,  
 ‘to search and discover what that country abounds in, and to  
 ‘trapan some of the inhabitants on board and bring them to  
 ‘*England*, who when they have learnt our language will be  
 ‘proper interpreters.’ He proposes afterwards to sail to *New Guinea*, which he supposed to be a part of the *Terra Australis*, and there to make the like examination.

CHAP. 12.

1713.

Plan proposed by John Welbe for a Voyage of Discovery.

Welbe several times renewed his proposals. His plan and applications have been preserved in the Sloane collection of manuscripts, and his last application is dated in the latter part of the year 1716, from Wood-street Compter, where he was then confined for debt. He complains in it, that he was brought to distress by fourteen months attendance, having in that time presented three petitions to the King, besides petitioning the

**PART II.** the Treasury and Admiralty board, without receiving any definitive answer.

1716. It is proper to mention here, that in the old Spanish charts  
 Supposed Islands are laid down near the East coast of *Japan* in latitude  
 Discovery of Islands. 36° N, marked *Ilas Nueva del Año de 1716*, meaning Islands newly discovered in 1716. It is noticed in the discoveries of 1664 and 1688\*, that search was lately made without finding Islands in that situation; and that it is believed the navigator on whose information they were inserted in the charts, saw the hills of *Japan* at a distance, and mistook them for separate Islands.

Missionary In 1716, was completed the celebrated Survey of *China* and  
 Survey of *Chinese Tartary*, by the Jesuit Missionaries. By the union of  
 China. their labours, was formed a general Map of the Empire, which they presented to the Emperor Canghi, in 1718. This survey was commenced in 1708, with ascertaining the situation of the great Wall. Mr. Dalrymple's favourable opinion of the Missionary map, has been noticed in the Memoir to the Chart of the Coast of *China*, in the Third Volume. Within the same time, the *Korea* was surveyed by Korean geographers, the King of *Korea* not choosing to admit the Christian Missionaries into his dominions. Pere du Halde obtained a copy of the Korean survey. The original was deposited in the King of *Korea's* palace.

Korea  
 surveyed by  
 Koreans.

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\* See Vol. III. pp. 269 & 412.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Voyage of Captain John Clipperton, and Captain  
George Shelvocke.*

IN the year 1718, at a time when *Great Britain* was at peace with *Spain*, some speculating adventurers, whom the journalists of the voyage to be related style, ‘worthy gentlemen of *London*, and persons of distinction,’ were of opinion that a war which then subsisted between *Spain* and the *German Empire*, afforded an advantageous opportunity of profiting by an expedition against the Spaniards in the *South Sea*. To this end, they determined to endeavour to obtain commissions from the Emperor of *Germany*, and to fit out ships under his flag and as his subjects, to cruise against the Spaniards. Application was made to the Imperial Court, and favourable answer being obtained, the Company of Adventurers in *London* fitted out two ships in the *River Thames*; but as it was to be specified in the commissions that the ships should be equipped as private ships of war, under order and appointment of the College of Admiralty of the *Austrian Netherlands*, it was thought necessary that one of the ships should sail over to *Ostend* to receive the commissions, and for the more decent appearance of the thing, the names of the ships, which originally were the *Success* and the *Speedwell*, were changed for those of the *Prince Eugene* and *Staremborg*; and some Flemish officers and seamen were to be engaged as part of the ships’ companies. The *Prince Eugene*, which was the largest of the two ships, mounted 36 guns, was to have a complement of 180 men, and to be commanded by Mr. George Shelvocke, who had served in the British Navy as a lieutenant. The *Staremborg*, which was but of 200 tons burthen, mounted 24 guns, was to carry 106 men, and to be commanded by

CHAP. 13.  
1718.

PART II.  
1718.

by John Clipperton, the same man who had sailed as mate with Captain Dampier, and had deserted him in the voyage of the *St. George* : a proper instrument for such an undertaking as the present. In palliation it was said, that a breach between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was known to be unavoidable, and that a declaration of war was daily expected. This would not have afforded a shadow of excuse if the ships had been captured by the Spaniards ; but it might have become a question of some interest, how far the Emperor's commission entitled the crews to be considered as prisoners of war. Events, however, relieved them from all danger of dependence on such a discussion. During the equipment of the ships, *Great Britain* actually declared war against *Spain* ; and as marriage is sometimes said to repair frailty, in like manner, the obtaining regular British commissions rendered these ships unquestionably legal privateers.

English  
Ships with  
Austrian  
Commissions.

But before the war was declared, Captain Shelvocke, in November, sailed over to *Ostend* in the *Staremborg*, and received the commissions, which had the Emperor's own signature. He also took on board a number of Flemings who entered for the voyage. After finishing his business at *Ostend*, and having a clearance from that port, he sailed to the *Downs*, where he joined the *Prince Eugene*, the ship he had been appointed to command.

A material change, however, had taken place in the intentions of the Owners. Shelvocke was thought by them to have been extravagant in his management, and to have incurred more expence at *Ostend* than was necessary. He had given entertainments on board the ship to company, had broke in upon the sea stock of liquors, and had fired five barrels of powder away in salutes. He had also engaged ninety Flemings instead of sixty, which was the number prescribed ; and what rendered more aggravating this extension of his authority, was, that the honest Flemings had their own officers, and both  
officers

officers and men valued themselves that they acted under commission from their own sovereign, which was not well relished by the Englishmen. The owners so much disapproved of Shelvocke's proceedings, that they determined to displace him from the chief command, and they appointed Clipperton chief in his stead, establishing him in the command of the Prince Eugene, and leaving Shelvocke to command the Staremborg. A more weak arrangement cannot be well imagined. There was not in prudence any intermediate step between continuing Shelvocke in the chief command, and dismissing him altogether.

CHAP. 13.

1719.

This change was attended with others, both of officers and men; and whilst the new arrangements were taking place, war was proclaimed by *Great Britain* against *Spain*. 'The Gentlemen Adventurers' immediately saw that they could with more convenience, and with more unquestionable authority, prosecute their undertaking under British commissions than under those they had procured from the Emperor. As soon as the new commissions were obtained, they discharged the Flemish seamen and officers, with a gratuity of two months extra wages, as compensation for their trouble and disappointment. In the English commissions, the original names were restored to the ships; and the crews were now completed with English seamen.

War  
declared by  
Great  
Britain  
against  
Spain.

The  
Commissions  
changed.

From the *Downs*, they sailed round to *Plymouth*. Whilst they remained in that port, Shelvocke's discontent against Clipperton, whom he regarded as his supplanter, appeared in such a manner as to draw on him an admonitory letter from the owners in *London*, in which they warned him to refrain from rude and mutinous behaviour to his commander Clipperton, adding that if they did not by return of the mail receive assurances of his entire contentment in his present station, they would send another person to command the *Speedwell*. Shelvocke

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wrote



PART II.  
1719.

wrote in answer, that the many favours he had received had brought him to a resolution of submitting, and that he should with the greatest cheerfulness shew Captain Clipperton all the respect in the world. Shelvocke relates of himself, that he stifled his resentment at this time and did not suffer it to break out into open flame\*.

February.  
Departure  
from  
Plymouth.

19th.

The  
two Ships  
separate.

February the 19th, 1719, the *Success* and *Speedwell* departed on their voyage. They had not been a full week from *Plymouth*, when a gale of wind gave Shelvocke an opportunity and a cover for separation. On the night of the 19th, it blew hard from the WSW, and according to Shelvocke's account, his ship was in so distressed a condition that he was obliged to take in all sail; by which he lost company of the *Success*. Nothing appears in contradiction to Shelvocke's statement; but it was not in his power afterwards to take measures to secure the separation and avoid all risk of rejoining, without some of his contrivances to that end being evident. Clipperton had every reason for desiring to preserve company; for besides the advantage in any enterprise he might undertake of having a second ship under his command, the whole store of wine and brandy intended for the two ships was on board the *Speedwell*, having been purchased at *Ostend*, and Clipperton having postponed taking his part to a future opportunity, on account of his ship being much encumbered with other stores and provisions. Clipperton had appointed places for rendezvous, in case of separation; first at the *Grand Canary Island*, with direction to cruise and look there for each other

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\* Two histories were published of this voyage of Clipperton and Shelvocke. The first was written by Captain Shelvocke, and intended by him as a vindication of his conduct, some particulars of which were made the subject of public enquiry. The other was written by one of Shelvocke's officers, William Betagh, who sailed with him in quality of Captain of the Marines. Betagh was roughly treated in Shelvocke's narrative; and in return, wrote with the design of exposing Shelvocke. Both the narratives are written with spirit.

other ten days, and if they did not meet in that time, to proceed for the Island *Juan Fernandez*.

CHAP. 13.

1719.

February.

20th.

On the 20th, the day next after the stormy night, the gale abated. Clipperton, missing his consort, at two p.m. made sail to the Southward. Shelvocke, at noon, set his main-sail double reefed, and kept his ship in that state till midnight, when he set the topsails and stood to the NW. By this difference of manœuvring, the *Success* arrived off the *Canaries* on the 6th of March, and the *Speedwell* not till the 17th; 'and then,' says Betagh, 'Shelvocke, instead of going to windward of the Island as he ought to have done, hauled in close under the lee of the Island.'

March.

Clipperton had cruised the appointed time off the *Grand Canary*, and was gone, Betagh compassionately observes, to make a comfortless voyage without wine or brandy, when Shelvocke arrived; who also stopped to cruise off the Island his ten days, and two or three days over. His launch chased there and took a small vessel with some salt and a quarter cask of wine, but the launch's crew drank nearly all the wine before they reached the ship with their prize.

From the *Canary Islands* Shelvocke went to the *Cape de Verde Islands*, he says 'in hopes to meet Captain Clipperton there.' After stopping some time at the Islands *May* and *St. Jago*, the *Speedwell* sailed for *Brasil*, and on making the coast, met a Portuguese ship. Shelvocke hoisted Imperial colours, and sent his second Captain in an armed boat to examine her. This second Captain was Simon Hatley, a man remarkable for his strange adventures in the voyage of Woodes Rogers. Hatley on this occasion, conducted himself in a manner to make the Master of the Portuguese ship apprehensive she would be kept as a prize, by which means he extorted from him in the shape of a present, a large sum of money (Shelvocke acknowledges to 80 or 100 moidores, Betagh says 300), a

Proceed-  
ings of  
Shelvocke.

On the  
Coast of  
Brasil.  
June.

**PART II.** dozen pieces of silk, some choice china, and a quantity of refreshments.

1719.

The money, or the greater part of it, was shared by Hatley with the boat's crew; the other things were received on the footing of a present from the Portuguese Captain to Captain Shelvocke, who in return hailed the Portuguese, and told him he was at liberty to proceed on his course, thanked him for his present, and wished him a good voyage.

June.  
At Santa  
Katalina.

June the 19th, the *Speedwell* anchored at the Island *Santa Katalina*; at which time Clipperton in the *Success* was in the *Strait of Magalhanes*.

Whilst at *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*, the crew of the *Speedwell* wrote to their Captain, one of those letters which are called Round Robins, on account of the signatures to them being placed in a ring so that no one shall appear foremost. The purport of this Robin was a demand that one half of all prize money and prize goods, the proportion to which the officers and crews of the ship were entitled, should be shared among them immediately on the capture. "It is known to all," say the claimants, "how the people on board the *Duke* and *Dutchess* were treated; and if we carry our money to *London*, we cannot expect better treatment. Secondly, the articles presented for us to sign at *Plymouth* we were not allowed to read, but were told they were the same with those publicly hung up at the great cabin door, though we are now assured of the contrary. One thing we saw in them was, that there was three times as much writing in them as in those on the cabin-door, and that they were interlined in several places, which we do not know the meaning of." To this remonstrance and demand were tacked other demands respecting the division of plunder, and what should be considered plunder; one of which demands was, that Captain Shelvocke should receive five per cent. of all plunder in consideration of his having given up

up the cabin plunder to the ship's company. Shelvocke, in relating this affair, complains that through the impatience of his ship's company, he was under the necessity of signing the articles proposed by them. Betagh represents the whole transaction as a business contrived by Shelvocke himself, and acted under his management.

CHAP. 13.  
1719.

Shelvocke was restless, and full of contrivances: he was a free drinker, and had generally a quarrel with one or more of his officers. Here on some disagreement he turned ashore the Master of his ship, and swore that he should never come over her sides again; but his anger being afterwards appeased, he allowed him to come in at one of the gun ports.

August the 8th, they sailed from the Island *S<sup>a</sup> Katalina*. A short time after, Shelvocke expelled Betagh from the cabin mess. Betagh, who seems to have been the most in fault, made a written apology, which was accepted, and he was re-admitted into the mess. Shelvocke published this apology in his history of the voyage. The two extracts which follow will serve as specimens of the style and temper of these antagonists.

August.

‘ As we advanced Southward,’ says Shelvocke, ‘ my people’s  
‘ stomachs increased with the sharpness of the air. Some of  
‘ my officers in particular were angry they could not have  
‘ a greater share of provisions than the common people.  
‘ Mr. Betagh, my Captain of Marines, a man whom I had  
‘ a great regard for, was the champion for an addition of  
‘ allowance at my table, for he told me that he had orders  
‘ from the owners to eat with me; and what was my table if  
‘ I did not eat better than the cook? To this I answered,  
‘ that he could have no reason to complain, having all along  
‘ fared as well as myself without any charge to him. But not-  
‘ withstanding all I could say, this good gentleman did not  
‘ think it proper to use any decency at such a table, and would  
‘ sometimes

**PART II.** ' sometimes take the greatest part of what we had upon his  
 1719. ' own plate; so that I found myself obliged to divide the  
 ' allowance into equal parts, and every one had their part by  
 ' lot.' Betagh in reply says, " That I was a champion for the  
 " officers, and wanted a greater allowance at his table, is a  
 " false insinuation; and Shelvocke aggravates this story by  
 " saying, Betagh had a voracious appetite, and eat more than  
 " came to his share. I need not wonder at any thing Shelvocke  
 " says on this head, for being a very small eater himself, he  
 " fancied all other people gluttons: I verily believe he never  
 " eat above two ounces in a day, as long as the *Hipsy* (a liquor  
 " compounded of wine, water, and brandy) lasted; but he  
 " was a great drinker all the voyage, whereas I never loved  
 " drinking: so that the difference between us is only this, I eat  
 " more than he, and he drank more than I."

September. Shelvocke passed *Strait le Maire* on the 25th of September.  
 Strait  
 Le Maire. In going round *Cape Horne*, he was forced as far South as  
 61° 30' S latitude. The cold was very severe. On the 1st of  
 October. October, having occasion to furl the mainsail, a seaman named  
 Passage round  
 Cape  
 Horne. William Camel, who was on the main yard, called out that his  
 hands and fingers were so benumbed that he could not hold  
 himself fast; and before help could be given him, he fell from  
 the yard overboard, and was drowned.

' We had continued squalls of sleet, snow, and rain,' says  
 Shelvocke, ' and the heavens were perpetually hid from us by  
 ' gloomy dismal clouds. One would think it impossible any  
 ' thing could live in so rigid a climate; and indeed we all  
 ' observed we had not the sight of one fish of any kind since we  
 ' were come to the Southward of the *Strait le Maire*; nor one sea-  
 ' bird, except a disconsolate black Albatross, who accompanied  
 ' us several days, hovering about us as if he had lost himself, till  
 ' Simon Hatley, my second Captain, observing in one of his  
 ' melancholy fits, that this bird was always hovering near us,  
 ' imagined

‘ imagined from his colour, that it might be some ill omen : CHAP. 13.  
 ‘ and being encouraged in his superstition by the continued The  
 ‘ series of contrary tempestuous winds which had oppressed us Albatross.  
 ‘ ever since we had got into this sea, he, after some fruitless  
 ‘ attempts, at length shot the Albatross, perhaps not doubting  
 ‘ that we should have a fair wind after it.’

It may naturally be imagined that the displeasure conceived at the killing this bird, produced from the pen of Mr. Coleridge, the Poem of the *Auncient Mariner*.

‘ The Sun came up upon the left,  
 ‘ Out of the sea came he :  
 ‘ And he shone bright, and on the right,  
 ‘ Went down into the sea.  
 ‘ Higher and higher every day,  
 ‘ Till over the mast at noon——

And afterwards,

‘ Listen, Stranger! storm and wind,  
 ‘ A wind and tempest strong !  
 ‘ For days and weeks it play’d us freaks,  
 ‘ Like chaff we drove along.  
 ‘ And through the drifts the snowy clifts  
 ‘ Did send a dismal sheen ;  
 ‘ Ne shapes of men, ne beasts we ken—  
 ‘ The ice was all between.  
 ‘ At length did cross an Albatross,  
 ‘ Thorough the fog it came :  
 ‘ And an it were a Christian soul,  
 ‘ We hail’d it in God’s name.

Here the author has made a prosperous gale the meed of kindness and hospitality shewn to the Albatross. The other circumstances he has exactly preserved.

‘ The mariners gave it biscuit worms,  
 ‘ And round and round it flew :  
 ‘ The ice did split with a thunder fit ;  
 ‘ The helmsman steered us through.

‘ And

## PART II.

1719.

' And a good South wind sprung up behind,  
 ' The Albatross did follow ;  
 ' And every day, for food or play,  
 ' Came to the Marinere's hollo.  
  
 ' In mist or cloud, on mast or shroud  
 ' It perch'd for vespers nine ;  
 ' Whiles all the night, through fog-smoke white,  
 ' Glimmer'd the white moon shine.  
  
 " God save thee, ancient Marinere !  
 " From the fiends that plague thee thus !  
 " Why look'st thou so ?"—' With my cross bow  
 ' I shot the Albatross.  
  
 ' The Sun came up upon the right,  
 ' Out of the sea came he ;  
 ' And broad as a weft upon the left  
 ' Went down into the sea.  
  
 ' And the good South wind still blew behind,  
 ' But no sweet bird did follow,  
 ' Ne any day for food or play  
 ' Came to the Marinere's hollo !  
  
 ' And I had done an hellish thing  
 ' And it would work 'em woe,  
 ' For all averr'd I had kill'd the Bird  
 ' That made the breeze to blow.

In the sequel, the poet, pursuing his own fancy, avenges the death of the Albatross by the visitation of a calamity, in its nature the very reverse of the evil which had occasioned their former complaint.

' Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropt down—

Afterwards again,

' And we did speak, only to break  
 ' The silence of the sea.'

In the case of Simon Hatley, his wanton or superstitious sacrifice of the Albatross has served to procure distinction for his

his victim; but he had no cause to imagine it produced any favourable effect on the winds; which continued contrary and tempestuous throughout the whole of October.

CHAP. 13.  
1719.

November the 14th, however, they made the coast of *Chili*, and on the 19th, at noon, the latitude observed being  $44^{\circ} 43' S$ , the body of an Island which Shelvocke supposed to be *Narbrough's Island*, bore NE, distant three leagues. The variation was observed here  $8^{\circ} 50' E$ . The land is not again mentioned till the 21st, on the forenoon of which day, Shelvocke says, 'I steered  $E \frac{1}{4} N$  for the *River of St. Domingo*, which empties itself from that part of the coast which is situated opposite to *Narbrough's Island*. Here I imagined we might find wood and water. As we came in with the land, we had regular soundings from 28 to 20 fathoms; but as soon as we advanced a little into the entrance of the river, the water shoaled from 18 to 15, 12, 9, 7, 5,  $4 \frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, as fast as the man could heave the lead; therefore not to run risk in so unfrequented a place, I stood out to sea again.' Afterwards, in ranging along the shore Northward, he rounded some bays, but found the bottom foul.

November.  
Coast of  
Chili.  
Narbrough's  
Island.

River of  
St. Domingo.

They went without the Island *Chiloe*, and on the morning of the 30th, sailed round its North end and into the channel between that and the Continent, with French colours hoisted. At ten in the forenoon they were near the point of *Carel Mapu*, when the weather became thick and rainy, on which account the ship was brought to an anchor, there being ground at 13 fathoms depth. The wind was from the Northward and in opposition to the tide. After the ship anchored, the wind freshened, and the rapidity of the tide increased, which made the whole channel in a foam. At two in the afternoon, the cable parted; Shelvocke says, 'I stood directly across the channel for the Island *Chiloe*, all surrounded with seeming shoals. When we had advanced within a mile of *Chiloe*, we ranged along shore to the Southward. We passed by two

At the  
Island  
Chiloe.

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3 Y

' commodious



PART II. ' commodious bays, but saw nothing like a town near them,  
 1719. ' and at length came about a point of land which is to be  
 November. ' known by a high rock like a pyramid, which almost joins to  
 At the ' it. Having rounded this point, I found myself entirely out  
 Island ' of the tide, and commodiously sheltered, and we anchored  
 Chiloe. ' over against a cross which was fixed on the Northern side of  
 ' the harbour. I would advise all strangers who go in at the  
 ' North end of *Chiloe*, to keep the Island side of the channel  
 ' aboard. Run along shore to the Southward, passing two  
 ' bays, but hold your way till you come to the point almost  
 ' contiguous to which is the Rock like a pyramid. Pass between  
 ' this Rock and a small round high Island which is near it, and  
 ' run in, making most bold, when you are in, with the North  
 ' side of the harbour.'

The appointed place of rendezvous, as before mentioned, was *Juan Fernandez*, and Shelvocke therefore thought it decent to complain in his narrative of the great unhappiness of his not being able to reach the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, for shortness of water. Betagh remarks on this, ' I allow Captain Shelvocke to be an able seaman, but he has the greatest share of hypocrisy I ever met with. He goes to *Narbrough's Island*, and to parts of the coast where no other ship ever touched, nor hath any chart described; yet he would venture in where we almost miraculously escaped with our lives; and all this to avoid joining Captain Clipperton. But Shelvocke kept no journal, neither would he suffer any other person in the ship to keep one; it being with him a maxim, that there should be no pen and ink work on board his ship.'

December. Being safely harboured, on the next day, December the 1st, Shelvocke sent the pinnace to look for a town called *Chacao*, which he proposed to attack. Wood and fresh water were near the ship, and the country abounded in farm houses and plantations.

On the 3d, a Spanish officer came to the ship to enquire her business,

business, and was answered that she put in here to procure provisions. Letters passed between Shelvocke and the Governor of *Chiloe*, which were of no moment ; but the Spanish Governor does not appear to have been deceived into a belief that Shelvocke's ship was French. All this time the pinnace had not returned, and great apprehensions were entertained for her safety. The 8th, Shelvocke's launch took a large piragua laden with sheep, hogs, poultry, barley, and vegetables ; besides which, she brought off cattle and provisions from the shore. On the evening of the 8th, the pinnace returned on board, having been absent a week, though she had departed from the ship with only one day's provision. It seems they had seen boats full of people, among whom they could discern Spaniards, which made them apprehensive of being intercepted in their return ; to avoid which danger they went entirely round the Island *Chiloe*, which extends two degrees in latitude. They had supplied themselves with provisions by landing.

CHAP. 13.  
1719.  
December.  
At the  
Island  
Chiloe.

Shelvocke sent parties to forage among the farms and plantations ; at the same time he caused notices in the Spanish language to be stuck up in conspicuous places, to inform the inhabitants that if they brought provisions, a fair price would be given for them ; but if the ship was not supplied the houses would be set on fire : that every house in which should be found four hams, four bushels of wheat, and a certain quantity of potatoes, would be spared. By these means, in a short time the *Speedwell's* decks were covered with cattle, poultry, Indian corn, and potatoes.

December the 17th, Shelvocke sailed for *la Concepcion*, near which place he captured two small vessels ; one with a cargo of fruits, the other with cedar planks. In an attempt to get off a vessel which the Spaniards had hauled on shore in a bay called *la Herradura* (the *Horse-shoe*) about two leagues Northward of *la Concepcion*, three of the *Speedwell's* crew were killed and

At La Con-  
cepcion.

**PART II.** two made prisoners. One of the latter, James Daniel, had run  
 1719. into the water, and had almost reached the ship's boat, when he  
 December. was caught by a line with a noose thrown over him, in the  
 manner wild horses and cattle are caught in *South America*.  
 In a day or two after this misfortune, they took a ship from  
*Callao* with a cargo of French linen, Peruvian cloth, 70 cwt. of  
 good rusk, some rice, sugar, chocolate, and to the value  
 of 6000 dollars in money and plate. Shelvocke negotiated with  
 the Governor of *la Concepcion* for an exchange of prisoners,  
 and recovered his two men; but they did not agree about  
 1720. ransom for the prizes, and on January the 6th, in the afternoon,  
 January. previous to his sailing from *la Concepcion*, Shelvocke in anger  
 ordered the two best prize vessels to be burnt; Betagh remarks,  
 neglecting to preserve for the use of his own ship an anchor  
 and cable to replace what had been lost at *Carel Mapu*.

At length, Shelvocke sailed for *Juan Fernandez*, taking  
 with him the fruit prize-bark, fitted as a tender, and named  
 by him the *Mercury*. On the 8th, the surface of the sea  
 near the ship was covered with shrimps and prawns, of a  
 red colour.

At *Juan* January the 11th, the *Speedwell* arrived at *Juan Fernandez*,  
*Fernandez* and the first boat that went from her to the shore, found marks  
 of the *Success* having been there. On the bark of a tree near  
 the landing, was carved the name of the Surgeon of the *Success*,  
 Clipperton not choosing to leave his own, which had become  
 notorious in the *South Sea*. He had been gone from *Juan*  
*Fernandez* three months when Shelvocke arrived, having at his  
 departure set up a cross, and left a bottle buried near it con-  
 taining directions for Captain Shelvocke. But this came to the  
 knowledge of the Spaniards, by means of a prize of Clipperton's  
 retaken, and they dispatched a bark to the Island, which  
 brought away the directions, and two men of Clipperton's crew  
 who had deserted from his ship.

Shelvocke

Shelvocke stopped no longer at *Juan Fernandez* than to salt five puncheons of fish. On the 15th, he sailed back to the American coast. The crew of the *Mercury* Tender was reinforced, and she was employed to cruise close in with the land, which she could do without exciting suspicion.

CHAP. 13.

1720.

January.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

February.

February the 6th, near *Arica*, they took two small vessels for which they obtained ransom, 1540 pieces of eight and two jars of brandy.

‘The inhabitants of the Vale of *Arica*,’ Shelvocke says, ‘make great profit by cultivating Agi, or codpepper, which they could not do if it was not for the *guano*, or cormorant’s dung. They supply a great part of *Peru* and *Chili* with the Agi, for which there is an universal demand, it being eaten in great quantities by people of all ages in these kingdoms.’

On the 9th, the *Speedwell* stood in towards *Ylo*. Four vessels were in the Road, one of which was a French ship named *Le Sage Solomon*, of 40 guns, whose Commander sent notice to the *Speedwell* that he took the other vessels, which were Spanish, under his protection. Shelvocke sailed on Northward.

Ylo.  
9th.

When abreast *Callao*, the *Speedwell* kept aloof from the land, whilst the *Mercury*, with a crew of fifteen men under Hatley and Betagh, sailed close along the coast, having directions to rejoin the *Speedwell* at the *Lobos de la Mar Isles*.

26th.

The *Speedwell* captured a small vessel with timber in the Road of *Guanchaco* (near *Truxillo*), but lost there an anchor by the tenacity of the bottom. Shelvocke put a crew of eleven men into the new prize, and named her the *St. David*, she being a fast sailer. A day or two afterwards, the *Speedwell* chased another Spanish vessel, the Master of which, rather than be taken, ran her ashore on the open coast, in a high surf, where she instantly went to pieces; but the crew,

## PART II.

1720.

March.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

crew, most of them if not all, were saved. Shelvocke intended next to go to the *Lobos Isles* for the *Mercury*, but by some accident he fell to leeward almost as far as *Cape Blanco*, and it took twelve days to recover the ground which had been lost. In the mean time, the *Mercury* made two prizes, with which she sailed for the *Lobos de la Mar* to meet the *Speedwell*; but a Spanish ship of war fell in with and took her and her prizes.

Shelvocke went to the *Lobos de la Mar*, and not meeting the *Mercury*, left written directions there, and sailed to *Payta*. This was in the middle of March, and Shelvocke relates, 'I sent the launch to see if there were any ships in the *Cove of Payta*, but it proved rainy and thick weather, a thing so uncommon on the coast of Peru that the Spaniards affirm it never rains there, and they could perceive nothing like a Town.' March the 21st, Shelvocke anchored in the *Bay or Cove of Payta*, and plundered the town, in which he found a good quantity of provisions. The *St. David* tender was left cruising off the *Saddle of Payta* because she was without an anchor. Shelvocke demanded of the Spaniards 10,000 dollars for ransom of the town, which being refused, he set it on fire. The houses were blazing, and the *Speedwell* still at anchor before the town, when a large ship was seen standing in, which proved to be a Spanish ship of war of more than double the force of the *Speedwell*. Her dilatory manner of proceeding, however, gave opportunity to Shelvocke to get out of the Bay and clear off, without a man being hurt, but with the loss of his boats and an anchor; for there was not time to weigh.

Payta  
plundered  
and burnt.

The next morning after this escape, the *Speedwell* fell in with another Spanish ship of war, and was chased the whole day. 'Night coming on,' says Shelvocke, 'I made use of the old stratagem, I thought it might be new here, of turning a light  
' adrift

'adrift in a half tub, and then altered my course.' The old stratagem succeeded, and the *Speedwell* made a second escape; but the *St. David* tender was taken.

CHAP. 13.

1720.  
March.

The coast of *Peru* being so much guarded, Shelvocke determined to go and water at *Juan Fernandez*, with intention to return afterwards to the coast of *Chili*, where it was probable he would not be again expected. During the passage, the carpenters built a new boat. Fish were at this time caught in such plenty that the ships crew always had their choice of Dolphin or Albacore.

May the 11th, they made *Juan Fernandez*. Only one anchor remained, on which account they plied off and on, and employed their only boat in fetching water and refreshments from the shore, till the 21st, when, tired of the tedious and inconvenient mode of watering with one boat at an uncertain distance, by which little more was obtained than supplied their daily consumption, they came to an anchor in 40 fathoms depth, within less than half a mile of the shore, and made a warp three hausers and a half in length, one end of which they fastened to the rocks, to steady the ship; and by this warp they hauled their rafts of casks to and from the shore.

May.  
At Juan  
Fernandez.

The next day (the 22d,) they were ready for sea, but the wind would not allow them opportunity on that or either of the two following days, to get out. On the 25th, the wind freshened from seaward, and brought in a great swell, with which their cable soon parted, at what time of the day is not mentioned, and the ship was cast on the shore, providentially opposite to a part favourable for landing. With the violence of the shock on the ship's first striking, the masts went by the board altogether, and fell over to windward, which was the off-shore side. This left room to leeward for making a raft, by means of which, some of the stores, and the ship's company, one man excepted who was drowned, were landed before dark.

22d.

25th.

Wreck  
of the  
*Speedwell*.

The

**PART II.**

1720.

May.

Shelvocke  
on Juan  
Fernandez.

The night was boisterous and rainy, and no farther attempt was then made to save any thing from the wreck ; but a good fire was lighted, round which the crew, seventy-one persons, laid themselves, and notwithstanding their misfortune slept soundly.

The next morning, ‘ getting up with the first glimpse of day-light,’ Shelvocke says, ‘ we looked at each other like men awakened out of a dream, so great and sudden was the change in our condition.’ It was however with difficulty that a few of the people were prevailed on to work at the wreck, the greater part being much amused in rambling over the Island, and contriving where they should build themselves huts. A good part of the stores was saved, but of the provisions, only one cask of beef, eight bags of bread, one of flour, and four or five live hogs, were got on shore before the ship went to pieces. Some other things were afterwards thrown ashore. Of the money which had been obtained by captures and plunder, the account given by Shelvocke was, that 1100 dollars belonging to the gentlemen owners, which out of his great care for their interest he had kept in his own chest, were safely landed ; but that all other prize money had been put in the bottom of the bread-room for security, and was lost with the ship.

Betagh was at this time a prisoner to the Spaniards ; he nevertheless wrote a continuation of Shelvocke’s voyage, for the sake of controverting the vulnerable parts of Shelvocke’s narrative ; but he aims at him here in the wrong place in accusing him of losing the *Speedwell* purposely, that he and his crew might cruise on a new bottom, and thereby exclude the gentlemen owners from all share of their future captures. If Shelvocke had been provided with a new bottom fit for such service, there might have been reason for suspecting him ; but his having no other vessel fully refutes the charge.

‘ When the cable parted,’ says Betagh, ‘ one of the officers called out to set the foresail ; but Shelvocke ordered down the men who were casting the sail loose, and taking the helm in  
‘ his

‘ his hand, said, “ Never mind it, boys, stand all fast ; I’ll lay  
 “ her on a feather bed.” Betagh represents this as preventing  
 the ship from being saved ; but it is to be regarded as ready pre-  
 sence of mind by which his own life and the lives of the crew  
 were preserved ; for if instead of giving the ship a direction to a  
 part of the shore where landing was most practicable, she had  
 been suffered to take the ground opposite to rocky cliffs, they  
 would probably have all perished. Betagh seems to have come  
 nearer the truth, when he says that many things of value were  
 landed from the ship, which Shelvocke secreted.

CHAP. 13.  
 1720.  
 May.  
 Shelvocke  
 on Juan  
 Fernandez.

The shipwrecked people built huts, which they either thatched  
 or covered with the skins of sea-lions and seals, on the flesh of  
 which, and on fish, they were obliged chiefly to live. Goats  
 were difficult to come at, there being little powder or shot to  
 spare. Cats were plentiful, ‘ in size and colour the same as our  
 ‘ house cats,’ and were thought good food. By accident their  
 boat went adrift and was not recovered ; after which they  
 made small boats of basket-work covered with sea-lions’ skins,  
 which served very well for fishing. Turnips were growing in  
 abundance, and of other vegetables, they had palm-cabbage,  
 water-cresses, and wild sorrel.

Some iron-work and a forge and bellows had been saved. On  
 June the 8th, the carpenter laid blocks for building a new  
 vessel. The bowsprit of their late ship served to make the  
 keel, the length of which was settled to be 30 feet ; and  
 the breadth of the vessel to be 16 feet, with seven feet depth  
 of hold.

June.

In two months time their vessel ‘ began to make a tolerable  
 show ;’ and a large boat was likewise in great forwardness.

In the mean time, the people had prepared a paper of new  
 articles, which they delivered to Captain Shelvocke, and  
 demanded his concurrence. The preamble stated, that ‘ the  
 ‘ Speedwell being cast away, they were at their own disposal,

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‘ and



**PART II.** ' and their obligations to the owners, or to him as Captain, were  
 1720. ' no longer of validity.' They then proposed a new plan of  
 August. distribution, offering to Shelvocke the command, and six shares,  
 Shelvocke if he would sign their articles. Shelvocke says, he did his  
 on Juan utmost to defend the interest of the owners, but he was deserted  
 Fernandez. by every one, both officers and men, and was obliged to sign  
 to their demands. On which his antagonist remarks, that  
 ' though Shelvocke had the assurance to tell mankind that the  
 ' owners' title was quite sunk, he nevertheless proceeded to act  
 ' upon the authority of the King's commission, which was the  
 ' property of the owners; and he afterwards in *China* pro-  
 ' duced this commission as a protection for himself and people,  
 ' and for all that they had got together.'

The signing the new articles was followed by a division of the dollars which had been saved, claimed by the crew as being of right the property of those who saved it. Shelvocke complied, and received his six shares.

Enough of the sails and rigging had been cast ashore to furnish their new vessel, and a small cannon was dived for and recovered. The ship's pumps were likewise fitted to her, and she was launched on October the 5th. She was of about 20 tons burthen, had two masts, and was named the Recovery. She was anchored in the bay, a great stone serving for anchor. The water, provisions, and their one cannon for which they had no carriage, were immediately shipped. The next day, Shelvocke and 46 others embarked, leaving eleven Englishmen and thirteen Indians on the Island, who, Shelvocke says, remained at their own desire, from the bad opinion they entertained of the new-built vessel. In fact, she was not large enough to receive the whole of their number.

October.  
 A new  
 Vessel  
 launched.

The stock of provisions for her, consisted of the bread, beef, flour, and live hogs already mentioned; 2,500 eels cured by being dipped in salt-water and smoked, averaging about  
 one

one pound weight each, and about 60 gallons of sea oil for frying. CHAP. 13.

1720.

On the evening of the 6th, the *Recovery* sailed from *Juan Fernandez*, taking the new boat in tow. They stood Eastward towards the Continent, and on the 10th, they fell in with a Spanish merchant ship named *la Margarita*, to which they gave chase. As they came up with her, they fired with their one gun, pointing it as well as they could as it lay on the deck; but the *Margarita* returned the fire, by which the gunner of the *Recovery* was killed, and three other men were wounded, and she got clear off. October.  
Departure  
from Juan  
Fernandez.

The *Recovery* made the coast near *Coquimbo*, and the weather being rough, bore away Northward to the Island *Yquique*, where Shelvocke landed and found a good supply of provisions, and a Spanish launch. 'The channel between *Yquique* and the main is full of rocks.' Coast of  
Chili  
and Peru.  
  
Island  
Yquique.

Proceeding Northward, they came up with another Spanish merchant ship, called the *Francisco Palacio*, abreast of *Nasca*; but she likewise had guns and made resistance, and the sea ran too high to attempt boarding with their slight bark. This second repulse caused much discontent, and in the night, two men who had charge of one of the boats, went off with her. The next day, on coming near *Pisco*, they saw a ship at anchor in the road. The wind being favourable, they ran right down upon her, and laid their bark directly across her bows. On boarding her, 'we had the satisfaction,' says Shelvocke, 'instead of finding resistance, to be received by the Captain and his officers with their hats off.' This ship was named the *Jesu Maria*; was of 200 tons burthen, and laden with pitch, copper, and plank. The Spanish Captain offered to procure 16000 dollars for her ransom; but no ransom could be so valuable at this time to the captors as a good ship. They however gave their own bark to the Spanish Captain. Pisco.

As they sailed from *Pisco* in the *Jesu Maria*, they saw their November.

3 2 2

boat

**PART II.** boat which had lately left them. The two men in her made  
 1720. towards the ship, supposing her to be Spanish, and were not  
 November. a little surprised to find they had rejoined their former com-  
 Coast of pany. The excuse they made was that they had fallen asleep,  
 Peru. and when they awoke, the bark was not in sight.

They continued Northward, keeping at a distance in passing  
 At Payta. *Callao*. November the 26th, they stood into the *Bay of Payta*,  
 under Spanish colours, and by keeping the crew out of sight,  
 except a few to work the vessel, and those dressed like Spaniards,  
 they surprised the town so completely, that on landing they  
 found the children playing on the beach, who were the first to  
 give the alarm. There was little of value, however, in the  
 town, except bread and sweetmeats; and whilst they lay at  
*Payta*, a small vessel entered the bay with fifty jars of Peruvian  
 wine and brandy, which they took. They learnt that Clipperton  
 had been lately off *Payta*.

December. December the 2d, they stopped at the Island *Gorgona*, to  
 Island take in fresh water; and January the 13th (1721) they anchored  
 Gorgona. at the NE part of the Island *Quibo*. They took here two boats  
 1721. with provisions, principally of plantains which had been dried  
 At the for keeping. 'This being pounded made a flour grateful to the  
 Island 'taste, and indifferently white, and there was enough to make  
 Quibo. 'a month's bread for the company.' They landed also on the  
 main-land, and surprised the wife and children of a farmer, who  
 redeemed them with a present of cattle, poultry, dried beef, and  
 Indian corn.

25th. They put to sea with their decks full of hogs and fowls. On  
 the morning of the 25th, being not far from *Quibo*, they saw a  
 sail to leeward of them, and bore down towards her, till they  
 perceived that she was a European built ship, and was making  
 towards them; on which Shelvocke hauled upon a wind. It  
 soon afterwards fell calm, when a boat put off from the strange  
 ship, and came to Shelvocke's, by which it was learnt that the  
 ship

ship to leeward was the *Success*, commanded by Captain Clipperton. CHAP. 13.

The satisfaction at this unexpected meeting after a separation of twenty-three months was not great, neither was it increased by the communication made of their transactions during that period. Betagh says, ‘Clipperton might well be surprised at the history of Shelvocke’s management; and Shelvocke had as great reason to wonder the other did not confine him for it: and I can tell him the gentlemen at home took it ill that he did not.’ Clipperton was doubtful whether he could be justified in such a step, or whether the owners or himself could pretend to any authority over Shelvocke and his crew, now that they were not in the *Speedwell*, nor in a vessel captured whilst the *Speedwell* was in being, the general custom in shipwrecks in the merchant-service being, that when the ship is lost, the claim of the mariner to wages and subsistence ceases. Shelvocke however, was required to go on board the *Success* to give an account of his proceedings. Here doubtless he was in some peril, the account he had to render being not at all to Captain Clipperton’s satisfaction. He was suffered, however, to return to his ship, and Clipperton limited his resentment to refusing to associate with him, unless he and his crew would refund all the money they had shared amongst themselves contrary to the Articles with the owners, and put it in a joint stock, to which condition Shelvocke and his men would not consent; and on the 26th, the day after their meeting, they parted company, having first made an exchange of a few stores, to which Clipperton unwillingly agreed. Among the things supplied to Shelvocke were two cannon with their furniture.

It seems not amiss in this place to speak of the proceedings and adventures of Clipperton after Shelvocke’s separation in the *Atlantic*, to their meeting in the *South Sea*, of which Betagh has given a short account from the journal of Mr. George Taylor, the chief mate of the *Success*.

After

1721.  
January.  
Shelvocke  
and  
Clipperton  
meet.

**PART II.**  
 Clipperton  
 from the  
 Canary  
 Islands.  
 1719.  
 In the  
 Strait of  
 Magalhães.

After leaving the *Canary Islands*, Clipperton lost no time in making his passage to the *South Sea*, but was not early enough, nor was Shelvocke who purposely delayed, late enough, to escape the evils of a severe Southern winter, which was that year extremely sharp. Clipperton went by the *Strait of Magalhães*, which he entered on the 30th of May (1719.) The next day, the pinnace was sent for fresh water to *Queen Elizabeth Island*; and in the evening she returned on board, leaving behind the Surgeon's Mate, who had carelessly wandered from the landing-place, and who remained on shore all night. The next morning, a boat was sent which brought him on board almost dead with cold; and afterwards he was obliged to have one of his toes amputated, a mortification having taken place.

Search for  
 the Passage  
 of the  
 St Barbe.

The *Success* anchored in *York Road*, and some of the officers went in the pinnace over to the *del Fuego* side of the *Strait* to search for the passage of the *Saint Barbe*, but they were not successful, and Betagh's account of the attempt yields no other information, than that they found an inlet in the *Tierra del Fuego* which was choked with ice. How situated from *York Road*, or from any known station, is not mentioned.

Seven men of the crew of the *Success* died in the *Strait*, and mostly from the severity of the cold. August the 18th, she entered the *South Sea*, and on September the 7th arrived at *Juan Fernandez*. In October, Clipperton sailed to the coast of *Peru*, and in a short time took a greater number of prizes than he was able to secure, yet, says Betagh, 'he would not be content without grasping more than he could hold.' By keeping possession of many prizes, he could spare but a small number of men to each. On November the 19th, a ship named the *Rosario* having struck to him, he sent a boat with eight men to take charge of her, whilst he went on with the *Success* in farther pursuit. The Spanish Captain saw his advantage in these circumstances, and desired his passengers and part of his crew

crew to conceal themselves in the hold, who, when the *Success* had chased to a distance, came out upon the prize-masters and retook their ship; but the *Success* soon discontinuing chase and returning, to avoid being again taken, they ran her on the coast. The people got safely on shore, and gave the first alarm of the English being then in the *South Sea*. The Viceroy of *Peru* was so well pleased with the conduct of the Spanish Captain, that he ordered a new ship to be built for him at the public expence.

CHAP. 13.  
1719.

About the end of November, Clipperton loaded one of his prizes with goods out of the other prizes, and sent her away with a crew of thirteen Englishmen and ten negroes, for the coast of *Brasil*, there to dispose of the cargo. There was reason afterwards to conclude, that this vessel was taken by the Spaniards.

In January, 1720, Clipperton went to the *Galapagos Islands*. Thence he sailed for the *Bay of Panama*, and, January the 21st, captured a ship named the *Prince Eugene*, from *Panama* bound to *Lima*, on board of which were the Marquis de *Villa Roche*, late President of *Panama*, and his family. Clipperton sailed with his prize and prisoners for *Ria Lera*, where he came to an agreement with the Marquis for their ransom, in consequence of which, the Marchioness with her only child were landed and set at liberty, and it was settled that the Marquis should remain as a hostage till the terms of the agreement, which were in writing and subscribed, should be fulfilled.

1720.

Clipperton cruised the remainder of the year 1720 on the American coast, taking a range from *Amapalla* to *la Concepcion*. He plundered the town of *Truxillo*, and captured many vessels, not of great value, and was himself more than once in danger of being taken. In November, he learnt from the officers of a Spanish ship which he took near *Coquimbo*, that peace had been concluded between *England* and *Spain*. As this information did not come to Clipperton from any authority he was bound

November.

PART II.

1720.

December.  
Cocos  
Island.

bound to acknowledge, he determined to pay attention to it or not, as he should judge for his own advantage.

In December, the *Success* went to *Cocos Island*, where the crew found good refreshment. Three of the seamen and eight negroes deserted from the ship there, and concealed themselves in the woods till she sailed.

1721.  
January.  
Meets  
Shelvocke.

In January 1721, Clipperton sailed for the coast of *New Spain*, and on the 25th, near the Island of *Quibo*, he fell in with his old associate Shelvocke, from whom he parted company the next day, as before related.

Both Clipperton and Shelvocke intended to sail for the *East Indies*, and only waited on the coast of *New Spain* for the chance of falling in with a ship which they learnt was soon to sail from *Acapulco* for *Manila*. Shelvocke new named his ship, calling her the *Happy Return*. Entertaining the same views, the *Success* and *Happy Return* in the course of their cruising met three times, and as often separated without exchanging a word.

March.

March the 13th, they again met, and Clipperton proposed to Shelvocke that they should cruise in company for the *Acapulco* ship. Shelvocke and his people demanded to have a written agreement signed by Captain Clipperton, and the agent for the merchants, to secure to them what they claimed to be their due shares in the event of being successful: to which Clipperton and the agent answered, that Shelvocke and his company should first refund the money which they had shared, contrary to their articles with the owners.

Clipperton  
sails from  
New Spain.

This was their last communication, and on the 17th, Clipperton sailed for *China*, carrying with him his prisoner the Marquis de Villa Roche, whose ransom had not been paid.

May.  
Arrives at  
Guahan.

May the 13th, he arrived at the *Island of Guahan*, having lost six men in the passage thither from *New Spain*.

The Governor of *Guahan*, on being applied to by the Marquis de Villa Roche, undertook to advance him money to discharge

discharge his ransom ; upon which, the Marquis was allowed to go on shore, accompanied by the owners Agent, a Lieutenant of the ship, and the Surgeon, who were expected to return with the money. The Marquis had been prisoner and as hostage with Clipperton sixteen months, and now on his landing, was saluted from the ship with five guns. A whole week afterwards elapsed without hearing from him. On the 25th, Clipperton received a letter from the Governor, demanding the Marquis's jewels, and some other things which he said had been illegally taken and detained ; and acquainting him that until they were restored, the Lieutenant and Agent would be detained.

CHAP. 13.

1721.

May.

At Guahan.

The Marquis de Villa Roche was taken prisoner in January 1720. The treaty of peace between *England* and *Spain* was not signed at *Madrid* till June that year. The agreement between the Marquis and Clipperton for the ransom of himself and family, was likewise made before the peace. The legality of such an agreement may be questioned, the Marquis not being a free agent at the time, and because the practice of extorting ransom from prisoners had long fallen into disuse among Europeans. But whatever construction may be put upon the conduct of Clipperton, the demand for the jewels, and the detention of his officers, were both unreasonable. On the Marquis's conduct, it is difficult to pronounce. He had been detained after the peace between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was known ; but it was as a pledge for the performance of an agreement. On a near prospect of the agreement being fulfilled, he was allowed as a matter of civility to land at *Guahan*, and it does not appear that Clipperton had the discretion to require of him any parole, either for his return or for payment of the ransom.

Clipperton soon discovered there was no chance of his obtaining satisfaction by gentle means. A Spanish ship lay moored close to the shore, which he determined to seize, and weighed anchor with intention to run alongside of her ; but his ship got aground, and lay some hours exposed to the fire of the



**PART II.** Spaniards, by which one of his officers and another of his men  
 1721. were killed, and several wounded, without his being able to  
 May. do the Spaniards any mischief. After extricating the ship  
 At Gunshan. from this situation, it appeared that his remaining longer at  
*Guahan* could answer no purpose, and on the 30th, he sailed  
 for *China*.

Clipperton July the 2d, he arrived at *Amoey*, and immediately after, the  
 arrives at ship's company demanded distribution to be made of all prize  
 China. money and prize goods. Clipperton objected or pretended to ob-  
 ject, and the crew made appeal to Chinese authority, which with-  
 out any repugnance took cognizance of the matter, and sent on  
 board an order for the distribution, accompanied by a guard of  
 Chinese soldiers. The owners' moiety amounted to 6000*l.* which  
 was shipped on their account on board a homeward-bound  
 Portuguese ship, the *Success* being judged incapable of pro-  
 ceeding to *England*. Nothing was set apart or reserved for the  
 heirs or relations of those who had died in the voyage, or for  
 those who were prisoners; but all their dues went to increase  
 the shares of the captors present. By which division, the share  
 of a foremast man was 419 dollars, and Clipperton had  
 6,285 dollars, being fifteen shares.

The ship The Portuguese ship which carried the owners' moiety, caught  
 sold. fire and was burnt in the harbour of *Rio Janeiro*, and not more  
 than 1800 *l.* was saved for the owners. The *Success* was sold at  
*Macao* on account of the owners, and her crew were accommo-  
 dated with passages at the rate of 5 *l.* per man on board the  
 English homeward-bound ships, which price was settled at the  
 English factory at *Canton*. Clipperton just lived to revisit his  
 In June home, which was in *Ireland*, and died two days after joining  
 1722. his family.

Betagh speaks of Clipperton having made two voyages to the  
*South Sea* before this in the *Success*; but there is no other evi-  
 dence of an intermediate voyage made by him between his  
 being with Dampier, and his going in the *Success*.

Shelvocke

Shelvocke after his final separation from Clipperton, on the 31st of March, made prize of a Spanish ship in the *Road of Sonsonate*, named la Sacra Familia, of 300 tons burthen, with a cargo of provisions and ammunition. This ship, being so furnished and thought to sail better than the *Jesu Maria* or *Happy Return*, Shelvocke and his people immediately occupied, and entered into treaty with a Spanish merchant who was among their prisoners to sell him the *Jesu Maria*. The same day, a boat from the shore brought a letter to Shelvocke from the Governor of *Sonsonate*, containing information of the peace concluded between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, and a demand that the ship *Sacra Familia* should be restored. Shelvocke wrote an evasive answer, as if he was in doubt what he ought to do, and at the same time he requested that his ship might be supplied with provisions. This was complied with for several days, till the Governor, no longer crediting Shelvocke for any disposition to relinquish his last prize, ordered the officer and crew of his boat to be seized, and at the same time wrote to Shelvocke that if the *Sacra Familia* was not restored, he would proclaim him and his people pirates. Shelvocke sent an answer in French, in which he pretended to desire that the Governor would give safe conduct for himself and his men to travel across the *Isthmus* to *Porto Bello*. Without waiting the Governor's answer to this proposition, he set sail from *Sonsonate* in the ship in question.

Some apprehensions of being called to an account for the transactions at *Sonsonate*, made Shelvocke think it necessary to draw up a protest against the Governor's proceedings in detaining his boat, and a declaration that the Spanish ship *la Sacra Familia* had first cannonaded the English ship which caused him to attack her in return; that the Governor delayed giving answer to the demand for safe conduct, and that he was necessitated to depart by want of fresh water. This Declaration and Protest were subscribed by his officers and ship's company, all proper men to warrant each other.

CHAP. 13.

1721.

March.

Shelvocke  
on the  
coast of  
New Spain.

April.

## PART II.

1721.

May.

Near the  
Bay of  
Panama.

19th.

20th.

Near *Amapalla Bay*, on May the 15th, they took a bark laden with provisions ; which Shelvocke relates as follows. ‘ The Master of this vessel had heard of nothing like a truce. He desired I would take him in tow, for that the currents drove him off shore, and his vessel was so leaky that his people were no longer able to stand at the pumps. Hearing this, I took her in tow, and kept the master on board, sending four Englishmen and some negroes from my own crew to assist the vessel.’ On the 17th, they chased another small bark, the master of which not choosing to be so assisted, ran his vessel on shore, and she was stranded. ‘ Their avoiding us in this manner,’ says Shelvocke, ‘ gave us good reason to believe the account of a cessation of arms was groundless and false.’

The 19th, in the morning, they saw a sail standing along shore, on which they cast off the bark they had in tow, and gave chase. The next morning they came up with her, and after an action of some continuance in which the Spanish Captain, Estevan de Recova, was killed, she surrendered. This ship was named the *Concepcion*, and belonged to *Callao*, but came last from *Guanchaco*. Shelvocke says she was laden with flour, sugar, boxes of marmalade, and preserved fruits, &c. had six guns mounted and 70 men ; that he made sail after her because he wanted a pilot, and that they fired at him as soon as he shewed his English colours, though he had not fired at them ; and would continue their fire, so that at length he and his men were obliged to begin and defend themselves.

Betagh says, ‘ This being the great crisis of Captain Shelvocke’s voyage, I shall be the more particular in relating the affair of this prize, which will open the most notorious scene of villany and deceit that has yet appeared. The ship was called the *Concepcion*, Don Stephen de Recova, commander, bound to *Panama*, and had on board several passengers of distinction, “ laden,” Captain Shelvocke says, “ with flour, sugar, boxes of marmalade, peaches, grapes, limes, *etcætera*.”

‘ Now,

‘ Now, Be it known to All Men, that this *etcætera* was 108,636  
 ‘ pieces of eight: and Shelvocke little thought when he took  
 ‘ this prize or compiled his book, that I of all men should  
 ‘ have this exact state of the affair. He often said, he would  
 ‘ never give the gentlemen owners a fair account; and I have  
 ‘ often promised in this treatise to prove that he did say so;  
 ‘ and now we have both made our words good.’

CHAP. 13.

1721.

May.

Near the  
Bay of  
Panama.

As soon as possession was secured of the Concepcion, Shelvocke stood towards the bark they had before taken in tow, which they did not rejoin till the 22d, when they found her abandoned, and her decks stained with blood; from which they could only conjecture that whilst they went in chase of the Concepcion the Spanish crew had risen against the four Englishmen and killed them; which Shelvocke remarks, ‘ was a cruel return for his civilities and services.’

Shelvocke and his crew loaded the *Sacra Familia* from the cargo of the Concepcion. After keeping possession three days, he delivered the ship back to the Spaniards, first requiring the principal officers and passengers to sign a representation, drawn up according to his own directions, of the circumstances of their meeting and engaging, and also of the civility with which they had been afterwards treated. At parting he saluted the principal passenger, the Conde de la Rosa, with nine guns.

Being now homeward-bound, Shelvocke directed his course for *California*. He stopped three days at the *Tres Marias Islands*, where he could not find fresh water: and on August the 13th, anchored in *Puerto Segura*, called also the *Bay de San Bernabé*. Shelvocke says ‘ *Puerto Segura* is about two leagues to the  
 ‘ NEward of *Cape San Lucas*, which is the Southernmost land  
 ‘ of *California*, and may be known by three white rocks, not  
 ‘ much unlike the *Needles* of the *Isle of Wight*. You must  
 ‘ keep close aboard the outermost to fetch into the Bay. Our  
 ‘ ship lay in 13 fathoms, not above half a mile from the shore,  
 ‘ and open to the sea from the Eb N to the SE bS. The

Tres  
Marias.August.  
California.Puerto  
Segura.

‘ wind

**PART II.** ' wind during the time we were there was from the WSW to  
 1721. ' the WNW. The watering place is on the North side in a  
 August. ' small river, which empties itself through the sand into the  
 ' sea. It is conspicuous by the appearance of green hollow  
 ' canes which grow in it: the water is excellent for sea use \*.'

The natives remembering their intercourse with Woodes Rogers, without the least reserve went off on their catamarans to the ship, before she got into the port. Shelvocke and his people were in great favour in consequence of entertaining them with sweetmeats; the negroes excepted, against whom the Californians at first shewed much dislike: but a negro cook who was employed on the beach to boil hasty pudding for them whilst the ship was watering, by his liberality wholly removed this prejudice. Another of their aversions was not overcome, which was against snuff, for whenever they saw any one about to take a pinch, they ran with earnestness to prevent it. Shelvocke says, ' the natives here are large-limbed, of dark complexion, with good countenances. They appear to be perfectly meek, but seem pretty haughty towards their women.'

A monstrous kind of flat fish, Shelvocke says 14 or 15 feet broad, and scarcely so much in length, was seen here ' sunning himself' on the surface of the sea near the shore. A number of the natives went into the water, and hunted him with such management as to drive him into shoal water, till he touched the ground, where, being unable to help himself, he was killed.

**From California to China.** August the 18th, they sailed from *California* in the ship *Sacra Familia*, for *China*. Shelvocke relates, ' on the 21st we  
**An Island seen,** ' discovered an Island bearing WSW, 110 leagues distant from  
 ' *Cape San Lucas*. I could not approach it nearer than within  
 ' the distance of two leagues. I judged it to be seven or eight  
 ' leagues in circumference. On the SW of it, there appeared  
 and named Shelvocke's Isle; ' a large bay, with a high rock in the middle of it. This isle  
 ' my

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\* *Shelvocke's Voyage*, pp. 390, and 403.

‘ my people called after my name. From hence we steered  
 ‘ gradually down into the parallel of 13° N \*.’

CHAP. 13.

1721.

The WSW in the above quotation is susceptible of two different interpretations; one that it was the bearing of the Island from *Cape San Lucas*, which has been the generally received construction, and according to which *Shelvocke's Isle* is laid down in the charts in nearly 21° N latitude; the other, that it meant the bearing of the Island from the ship, when first seen. This last is the right construction, for the fact is cleared up in a Map of the World expressly intended to shew Shelvocke's track, and which fronts the title page to his History of the Voyage. His course from *Cape San Lucas* appears there to have been SW, and his *Shelvocke's Isle* is laid down in latitude considerably under 20° N; and doubtless is the *Roca Partida* seen by Villalobos and afterwards by Spilbergen. The Shelvocke's Isle marked on the present charts is therefore to be expunged.

But is the  
 Roca  
 Partida.

In the passage to *China*, the crew suffered much from sickness, which Shelvocke attributed to the quantities of sweetmeats they were continually eating.

November the 11th, they anchored at *Macao*, where they met some of Clipperton's people. The next day they proceeded up the River *Canton*; and on the 18th, anchored at *Whampo*.

November.  
 In the River  
 Canton.

It happened that an English trading vessel named the *Bonita* was then preparing to sail for *Madras*. One of Shelvocke's men, named David Griffiths, wished to take a passage in the *Bonita*, and having made his agreement, procured a boat belonging to her, to transport his effects. In his way to the *Bonita*, a Chinese *Hoppo*, or custom-house boat, made towards him, intending to search his boat. Griffiths, being intoxicated, and also alarmed for his property, fired a musket at the Chinese boat, and killed one of the *Hoppo-men*. The next morning, the

\* *Shelvocke's Voyage*, p. 433-4.

**PART II.** the corpse was laid before the door of the English factory, and  
 1721. a super-cargo belonging to the *Bonita* who happened to be the first Englishman that went out of the factory, was apprehended by the officers of the Chinese police, and led chained about the streets of *Canton*. Griffiths was secured and kept confined on board one of the English East-India Company's ships, whilst endeavours were made by the Factory to appease the Chinese, which however was not done, nor the release of the super-cargo obtained, until the culprit was delivered into their hands.

Shelvocke's ship was measured by the Hoppo, and if Shelvocke is to be believed, he was made to pay the enormous sum of 6500 tael (equal to 2,166 *l.* 13*s.* 4*d* sterling) for port duties; which was six times as much as the *Cadogan* East-India ship then lying at *Whampo*, and of larger dimensions, was required to pay. It may reasonably be supposed that Shelvocke and the Chinese officers were in connection to defraud his ship's company.

The ship *Sacra Familia* was sold for 2000 tael, and Shelvocke settled accounts with his men, in what manner, or the amount of the plunder shared among them, he has not mentioned; and here Betagh again has in part supplied the deficiency in Shelvocke's narrative, from a book of accounts which was kept by Shelvocke's Steward, wherein it appeared that 98,604 dollars were shared, of which Shelvocke received 11,325 dollars, and the share of an able seaman was 1,887½ dollars; besides which, Betagh says, another sum amounting to 10,032 dollars, was entered in the Steward's books, without any account of its being divided.

1722. Shelvocke went home passenger in the *Cadogan* East-India ship, and landed at *Dover*, July the 30th, 1722. On arriving in London, he was apprehended, as was his Steward. The peace had set Betagh at liberty, and he had arrived in *England* before Shelvocke.

A charge of piracy was laid against Shelvocke for the robbery committed

committed on the Portuguese ship on the coast of *Brasil*, and for taking the Spanish ship *Sacra Familia*; but for want of pains in collecting evidence, the prosecution on these charges fell to the ground. The owners also prosecuted him for defrauding them, but he found means to make his escape from the King's Bench prison, and fled the kingdom. He afterwards entered into composition with the Gentlemen Adventurers and prevailed on them to drop the prosecution. In 1726, he published his account of the voyage, dedicated to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and in a preface modestly advises 'any set of gentlemen who in future shall be concerned in such an expedition, to let their chief care be in the choice of a Captain who has experience accompanied with a strict disposition to honour and honesty.' Captain William Betagh's Account of the Voyage was published two years afterwards.

If the *Success* and *Speedwell*, or either of them, had returned to *England*, they might have been liable to claims from the South Sea Company; and as the case stood, it is not improbable that a prosecution would have been set on foot against the owners and Shelvocke, if the Company had not been in depressed circumstances; for during the voyage of Shelvocke, happened the unfortunate event which has been distinguished in British history by the name of the South Sea Bubble; and not unaptly so called, being attributable more to an excess of public credulity than to any other cause. The erection of a South Sea Company had encouraged the public to indulge in visionary prospects, and the delusion which prevailed in 1720 was so great, and was practised upon to so great an extent, as to reduce thousands of families from affluence to poverty.

It had been suggested to the British Ministry that consolidating all the public debts into one fund, bearing one interest, would be a means of facilitating their redemption. The matter was debated in Parliament, and the great Public Companies



**PART II.**

1780.

The  
South Sea  
Company.

made proposals for obtaining the management of the fund. The principal competitors were the Bank of England, and the South Sea Company. In their first offers the Bank outbid the South Sea Company; but the South Sea Directors, being determined at any price to have in their hands the whole management of the public debts, amended their proposals, making a second offer two millions beyond the proposal of the Bank, insomuch that the money and advantages offered to Government by the South Sea House amounted in value to above seven and a half millions sterling. The offer of the South Sea Company was accepted; and they were allowed, in addition to their other privileges, to increase their own capital stock. The Bill empowering them to do this received the Royal assent on the 7th of April. Whilst it was debating in the Houses of Parliament, the stock of the South Sea Company rose from 130 to above 300. The general persuasion was, that the great command of ready money which the interests of the public debts passing through the hands of the South Sea Company, would give them, joined to the increase of their capital and their large trading privileges, would enable them to enter on great and advantageous undertakings. A report was circulated by one of the Directors of the Company that *Gibraltar* and the Island *Minorca* were to be exchanged for some ports in *Peru*; and the prospect held forth of an enlarged South Sea trade raised the most extravagant hopes throughout the nation. After the Act was passed, South Sea stock continued to rise till it got up to above a thousand pounds for every original hundred pounds stock.

On the 8th of September, South Sea stock first experienced some depression. Nothing further was heard concerning exchanges to be made for Peruvian Ports; and as cool consideration returned, it filled the purchasers of stock with apprehension, and also soon filled the market with sellers. The fall was far more rapid than the rise had been, and before the end of the month of September, South Sea stock was down to 150. The number  
who

who from sanguine expectations of profit had risked their whole property in the funds of the South Sea House was so great, that every where throughout the kingdom, says an Historian, were heard the ravings of despair. On a public enquiry into the causes of this misfortune, it was discovered that some of the Directors of the South Sea Company had sold more than half a million of fictitious stock. Several of the principal offenders whose illicit practices were discovered were rigorously prosecuted by the Government, and their effects sequestrated for the benefit of the sufferers; but their misdeeds did not amount to felony by the English law, and no capital punishment ensued. The Parliament annulled the bargain made with the South Sea Company, and passed an Act for transferring a part of the debts which had come under their management, into that of the Bank of England.

CHAP. 13.

The  
South Sea  
Company.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Voyage round the World, by Jacob Roggewein; commonly called the Expedition of Three Ships.*

## PART II.

**T**HE Voyage of Jacob Roggewein, from the obscure manner in which his track is described, has been productive of more geographical discussion than any other voyage in the History of Maritime Discoveries. Much has been cleared up by later voyages, but much yet remains in doubt and perplexity.

Jacob Roggewein, a native of the Province of *Zealand*, was bred to the law, and went to the *East Indies* in the service of the Dutch East-India Company, where he was Counsellor in a Court of Judicature. He returned from *India* with a good fortune; and in 1721, presented a Memorial to the Dutch West-India Company, containing proposals for making discoveries of Southern Lands. Fifty-two years before, a similar, or strictly speaking, the same, project, had been offered to the West-India Company by the father of Jacob, which was then so much approved that the Company ordered vessels for carrying it into execution; but disputes occurring between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, caused the design to be relinquished. It is pretended that the elder Roggewein, a little before his death, exhorted his son not to lose sight of a scheme so important, which the son promised, and 'kept his word, but a little of the latest.' It is no proof of the younger Roggewein having bestowed much reflection on the views of his father, that in the Memorial delivered by himself in 1721, he referred the Directors of the Company wholly to the Memorial which had been presented by his father. His application was nevertheless attended with success: the Company ordered three vessels to be equipped to go in search of  
unknown

unknown countries, and Jacob Roggewein was appointed Admiral of the expedition. CHAP. 14.

Other persons besides the Roggeweins had made proposals of this nature to the Dutch West-India Company, who met not the like favour. The real inducement to this undertaking was, the prospect of advantage to be derived from making a passage through the East-Indian Seas. With the same view, but professedly and openly, and with the indispensable requisition of discovering a passage to the *East Indies* not within the prohibitions in favour of the Dutch East-India Company, was undertaken the celebrated voyage of Jacob le Maire and Wilhem Schouten.

An expedition to distant and unfrequented parts of the world, to be undertaken by three ships at the charge of a rich public Company, merited that some provision should have been made for its history being recorded with care and fidelity; but this was left to accident; and the chance did not prove fortunate, for no other voyage of discovery has been more indifferently furnished with journalists.

Mr. Dalrymple, who was at much pains in investigating the situations of the lands discovered by Roggewein, has given the following account and character of the printed journals of the voyage. ‘ Two relations have been published of Jacob Roggewein’s Voyage; the first, anonymous, in the Dutch language, printed at *Dort* in 1728, in 4to, with the title *Twee Jaarige Reyze rondom de Wereld* (i. e. *A Two Years Voyage round the World*.) This appears to be an abstract of a sea Journal, to which circumstances of description have been added, perhaps from verbal report, with some exaggeration towards the marvellous. Reprinted in 1759.’

‘ The other was in the German language, printed at *Leipsic*, in 1738; and a French translation of it was published at the *Hague*, the year following, with the title of *Histoire de l’Expedition de Trois Vaisseaux*. This was written by Charles Frederik Behrens, a native of *Mecklenburgh*, who was Serjeant  
‘ and

**PART II.** ‘ and Commander of the troops in Roggewein’s small squadron.  
 ‘ It is a very poor performance, written with much ignorance,  
 ‘ though with the parade of knowledge. This narrative differs  
 ‘ from the Dutch narrative printed at *Dort*, both in situations  
 ‘ and dates. It appears to me that Behrens kept no journal and  
 ‘ wrote from memory; but his narrative seems to be faithful in  
 ‘ the recital of the things he saw\*.’ Du Bois, in his *Lives of the*  
*Governors General of Batavia*, says he had in his hands a Manuscript Journal ‘ of the Expedition under the command of  
 ‘ Admiral Jacob Roggewein, for making discovery of unknown  
 ‘ lands situated in the *South Sea* to the West of *America*, and  
 ‘ that it very well agreed with the French narrative published at  
 ‘ the *Hague*†.’ But the only situation mentioned by Du Bois, Mr. Dalrymple has remarked, differs in latitude, and yet more in longitude, from the Hague relation. It differs also from the Dutch relation.

The German narrative has a chart prefixed, on which is marked the track and discoveries of Roggewein, drawn by the author, C. F. Behrens. Mr. Dalrymple has given an abstract of both these journals in his *Historical Collection of Voyages*. His abstract of the Dutch narrative has been of great service in drawing up the present narrative, for which no copy of the original Dutch could be procured.

1721. August. Departure from Holland. August the 21st, 1721, Jacob Roggewein departed from the *Texel* with the ships, *Arens* (the *Eagle*) carrying 36 guns and 111 men, Job Koster, Captain; the *Tienhoven*, of 28 guns and 100 men, Jacob Bauman, Captain; and the *African Galley*, of 14 guns and 60 men, Hendrik Rosenthal, Captain. The Admiral, Roggewein, was on board the *Arens*. Near the *Canary Islands* they were attacked by five sail of pirates, who retreated after an action by which the Dutch lost ten or twelve men, and had several wounded. In crossing the tropical latitudes they caught

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\* *Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean*. Vol. II. p. 85-6.

† *Vies des Gouverneurs Generaux*. p. 295.

caught dolphins, and Behrens remarks, 'these fish are called  
' *Dorade* and *Dauphin*. In fact, it is the same fish ; the *Dorade*  
' is the female, and the *Dauphin* is the male.'

CHAP. 14.

1721.

Dorade and  
Dauphin.

Roggewein stopped on the coast of *Brasil*, where nine of his  
men deserted. After leaving *Brasil*, Behrens relates, ' We  
' looked for the Island of *Hawkins's Maiden Land*, but could  
' not find it. As it is in an advantageous situation and in a good  
' climate, our Admiral had thoughts of establishing there a  
' colony for the convenience of vessels which might sail to and  
' from the Southern Countries : but all our search was useless ;  
' and I am at a loss to know whether what has been related of  
' this Island is a fable, or that we did not go the right way to  
' discover it. We then changed our course and steered to the  
' SW towards the *Isles Nouvelles*, called by a French Armateur  
' the *Isles de St. Louis*. The 21st of December, being in latitude  
' 40° S, we had a violent tempest, during which the Tienhoven  
' was separated from us. After the storm, continuing our  
' course, we discovered an Island which is 200 leagues in cir-  
' cuit, and is distant from the coast of *America* about 200  
' leagues. This Island is situated in 52° S latitude, and at  
' 95° of longitude. We gave the name of *Belgia Austral* to the  
' part we saw ; it being situated in the same height of latitude  
' South that the *Low Countries* are in North.'

December.

John  
Davis's  
South  
Land.

This is perhaps a longer extract than was necessary to shew  
the journalist's want of information in geography.

On Christmas Eve, they were in the latitude of the *Strait*  
*of Magalhães*. Behrens observing the custom of the season,  
complains that by drinking too much punch, a sort of beverage  
used by the English, he brought on a violent illness, of which  
he did not recover till he came to land.

The *Arens* and the *African Galley* sailed through *Strait*  
*le Maire*, and on March the 10th, anchored at the *Isle of Mocha*.  
This Island they found without inhabitants, other than horses  
and dogs. From *Mocha* they sailed to the Island of *Juan*  
*Fernandez*, where they rejoined the ship Tienhoven; Captain  
Bauman,

1722.

March.

Island  
Mocha.

## PART II.

1722.

Island of  
Juan  
Fernandez.

Bauman, who had sailed through the *Strait of Magalhães*, and had anchored at *Juan Fernandez* only one day before them.

At *Juan Fernandez* they found goats, cats, and the refreshments which that Island is known to have always afforded, and they salted a quantity of fish. An officer belonging to one of the ships fell down a precipice and was killed. About the end of March, Roggewein set sail from *Juan Fernandez*.

Behrens says, 'we directed our course towards *Davis's Land*, situated to the WNW. We advanced always with the SE trade-wind. At length we arrived in latitude 28° S. Here we hoped to have found *Davis's Land*. What strengthened us in this opinion was a great number of birds, among which were teal; and an additional sign was, the wind becoming unsteady. Some pretended they saw land; but to the great astonishment of the Admiral, it was not seen. I think either we missed it, or there is not such a land. We still went on towards the West as far as to 12° more than the specified longitude, and we saw constantly many birds, as well land as sea-birds, which accompanied us till we came in sight of an Island. This was on the 6th of April, the anniversary of the Resurrection of our Saviour, and on that account we named it *Paaschen*, or *Oster Eilandt* [Easter Island.] It is about sixteen German leagues in circuit.'

6th.

Paaschen  
or Easter  
Island.

7th.

The land was seen to be inhabited; and the next day, when the ships were two German miles distant, standing in to look for a harbour, a man in a small canoe made of small pieces of plank curiously and neatly patched together, went off towards them. When near the ships, he stopped, and after looking some time, began to paddle back towards the shore, but was surrounded by the boats of the Dutch ships, and taken on board the Admiral. He was of a robust make, of a brown complexion, and quite naked, except that his body was painted over with various figures. His ears were remarkably long, reaching down to his shoulders, which was supposed to have been effected by the weight of heavy ear-rings. Some linen was given to cover him,

him, and a hat put upon his head. Beads and other things were also given to him, all of which, and a dried fish he had, he hung about his neck. Being helped to a glass of wine, instead of drinking it, he threw it into his eyes. He was fed, and afterwards treated with music, at which he appeared cheerful and merry, and danced with the Dutch sailors. When the Admiral thought he had been sufficiently regaled, he was put into his canoe with his presents about his neck, and departed highly contented, calling out frequently with a loud voice towards the shore as he went, *O-dorroga, O-dorroga!* It was supposed that his exclamations were addressed to some large idols which were seen placed on the coast; but it is equally probable that they were meant to inform his countrymen that the strangers were not enemies. The ships did not get to an anchorage during this day: the next morning, early, Behrens says 'we entered to the SE in a gulf, to anchor. '*Nous entrames d Sud Est dans un golfe pour y mouiller* \*.' Many thousands of the inhabitants flocked thither, and some came off to the ships with fowls and roots. Others ran backward and forward on the shore from one place to another, like so many wild animals. They lighted fires at the foot of their idols to make offerings, as if to implore their assistance.'

The day was expended by Roggewein in making preparations for landing, as if it was the country of a formidable enemy. On the following morning the natives were seen to prostrate themselves with their faces towards the Sun, and they continued to light fires before their idols. Some however went to the ships with freedom, and among them their first visitor, carrying fowls and roots ready cooked. One of these natives was quite white [*toutafait blanc.*] He had round white pendants in his ears as large as the clenched fist of a man. His deportment was serious, and appeared devout, and he was thought to be one of their priests. By degrees the natives crowded in

CHAP. 14.

1722.

April.

At  
Paaschen,  
or Easter  
Island.

8th.

9th.

great

\* A bay in the North side of the Island and towards the East end, agrees the nearest with the circumstance here mentioned.



**PART II.**

1722.

April.

At  
Paaschen,  
or Easter  
Island.

great numbers to the ships, both to traffic, and from curiosity ; and it soon appeared that they had a propensity to pilfering. Things moveable that lay in their way, they would catch up, and jump overboard with their prize ; so that the Hollanders found it necessary to lessen the number of their visitors, which they endeavoured to do at first by gentle means ; but gradually recurred to harsher, and drove some forcibly out of the ships. In a dispute of this kind, an Islander was killed by a musket-shot. This strange event caused so great a consternation, that all the natives on board the ships, and many in the canoes, threw themselves into the sea and swam to the shore ; and those who remained in their canoes paddled as fast as they could the same way.

10th.

On the 10th, all was ready for the Admiral to land in a manner he thought consistent with his dignity and safety, and he went, attended by the boats of all the ships, and with 150 armed men. The natives had collected in a crowd close to the shore, and by placing themselves in the way, endeavoured to obstruct the landing ; but they were without arms, not thinking themselves able to engage in a serious contest with these strangers. ‘ I was the first,’ says Behrens, ‘ who put foot on shore. The inhabitants stood before us in such numbers that to advance it was necessary to push them out of the way. Some of them had the audacity to touch our arms, whereupon a discharge of musketry was fired among them.’ In the Dutch narrative, this abominable proceeding is related in the manner following. ‘ On the 10th, we went in the boats well armed in order to land and take a view of the country. An innumerable multitude of savages stood by the sea side to obstruct our landing. They threatened us mightily by their gestures, and shewed an inclination to turn us out of their country ; but as soon as we, through necessity, gave them a discharge of our muskets, and here and there brought one of them to the ground, they lost courage. They made the most surprising motions and gestures in the world, and viewed their fallen companions with the utmost astonishment, wondering at the wounds the bullets had made  
‘ in

‘ in their bodies ; whereupon they fled with a dreadful howling, CHAP. 14.  
‘ dragging the dead bodies along with them : so the shore was 1722.  
‘ cleared and we landed in safety.’ April.

Behrens, whose narrative is the most reasonably written of the two, relates, ‘ in a short time they rallied and drew near  
‘ us again, but kept at about ten paces distance, where they  
‘ supposed themselves safe from the effect of our muskets.  
‘ Unfortunately, many of the Islanders were killed by our  
‘ firing, and among the number was the Indian who first  
‘ visited us, which we much regretted.’ At  
Paaschen,  
or Easter  
Island.

Roggewein had taken no previous step to reconcile the Islanders to the landing of the Hollanders ; and the great force with which he was attended, as well as the Islanders who met him at the water-side being without arms, took away all necessity for military execution. ‘ These good people,’ says Behrens, ‘ that they might have the dead bodies, brought us all kinds of  
‘ provisions. Their consternation was great : they made doleful  
‘ cries and lamentations. All, men women and children, came  
‘ carrying branches of the palm-tree, and a sort of red and  
‘ white flag. Their presents consisted of plantains, nuts, sugar-  
‘ canes, roots, and fowls. They fell on their knees, placed their  
‘ colours before us, and offered their palm-branches in sign of  
‘ peace. Touched with these demonstrations of humility and perfect submission, we would do them no harm. On the contrary,  
‘ we made them a present of a piece of cloth 50 or 60 yards long,  
‘ with corals, looking-glasses and other things. In a little time  
‘ after, they brought us five hundred fowls all alive and like the  
‘ fowls of our own country, a quantity of red and white roots,  
‘ potatoes which in taste resembled bread, sugar-canes, and  
‘ plantains.’

‘ We did not see in this Island any animals except birds ;  
‘ but there may be others in the heart of the country, for the  
‘ natives made us understand that they had seen hogs before,  
‘ when we shewed them those we had in our ships. It appeared  
‘ that each family or tribe had its own hamlet separate from

## PART II.

1722.

April.

At  
Paaschen,  
or Easter  
Island.

‘ the rest. Their houses are from 40 to 60 feet in length, and  
 ‘ from six to eight in breadth, constructed with a great number  
 ‘ of timbers cemented together with a fat earth or clay, and  
 ‘ thatched with palm-leaves. The land is every where cultivated,  
 ‘ with enclosures separated by line with great exactness. The  
 ‘ fields and trees were abundantly loaded. They had cloth of  
 ‘ red and white colours, made of a stuff which was soft to the  
 ‘ touch like silk.’

‘ These Islanders are in general lively, well made, rather  
 ‘ slender, and can run with great swiftness. Their looks are  
 ‘ mild and submissive, and they are extremely timid. When  
 ‘ they brought us provisions, whether fowls or fruit, they cast  
 ‘ them with precipitation at our feet, and retired as fast as  
 ‘ they could. Their complexion in general is brown like the  
 ‘ Spaniards; some are darker, and some quite white. Their  
 ‘ bodies were painted with all kinds of figures of birds and  
 ‘ other animals. Their women were most of them painted  
 ‘ with a bright rouge: they had coverings of linen, red and  
 ‘ white, and wore small hats made of rushes or straw. They  
 ‘ were free in their demeanour and actions.

‘ We saw no arms among these Islanders, and it appeared to  
 ‘ me that in cases of being attacked, these poor people put  
 ‘ their trust in their idols, a number of which were erected  
 ‘ along the coast. These were statues all of stone, of the figure  
 ‘ of a man with great ears, the head ornamented with a crown,  
 ‘ the whole so well proportioned as to astonish us. The ground  
 ‘ as far as to 20 or 30 paces from the idols, was inclosed with  
 ‘ a circular parapet of white stones. Men with their heads  
 ‘ shaven, whom we believed to be priests, attended these idols.’

The *Dort* narrative gives the following description of the  
 Idols. ‘ Two stones of a size almost beyond belief, served them  
 ‘ for gods: the one was broad beyond measure, and lay on the  
 ‘ ground. Upon this, stood the other stone, which was thrice  
 ‘ the height of a man, and of such extent that seven of our  
 ‘ people with outstretched arms would hardly have been able  
 ‘ to

to encircle it. About the top of this stone was cut or carved the shape of a man's head, adorned with a garland set together of inlaid work made of small stones, not ill done. The name of the largest idol was 'Taurico, and of the other, 'Dago.'

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At  
Paaschen,  
or Easter  
Island.

There was not observed among these Islanders any chief who spoke with command over the whole. Some of the most aged wore plumes, and carried staves, and it was thought that in each house or family the most ancient person governed and gave orders. Both the accounts notice the ground being well cultivated; and that the country abounded in woods and forests. These were the remarks made during the short time Admiral Roggewein was on shore at *Easter Island*. Towards the close of the day, the same on which he landed, he embarked with all his men, and returned to the ships, with the intention to land again on the following morning, to traverse the Island and examine the country more particularly. The Islanders were spared a second visitation, through the kind interposition of a strong West wind, by which two of the ships broke from their anchors, and Roggewein found it necessary to quit the anchorage and make sail from the Island for safety.

The chart by Behrens places *Paaschen Island* 24 degrees in longitude West of *Juan Fernandez*; and in longitude reckoned eastward from the meridian of *Tencriffe*, 271°. The *Dort Relation* gives its latitude 27° S, and longitude 268°. Dubois, from the manuscript journal mentioned by him, gives the latitude of the Island 27° 4' S, and longitude 265° 42' \*.

On leaving *Paaschen Island*, Behrens says, 'we continued some days in the same latitude, and tried all we could by steering on various courses to find the land discovered by Edward Davis; but all in vain.' Behrens had all the good will imaginable for making the lands seen by Roggewein, New Discoveries.

\* In the requisite Tables to the Nautical Ephemeris, the longitude of *Paaschen* or *Easter Island* is set down 109° 47' W of *Greenwich*.

**PART II.** Discoveries. Concerning *Paaschen Island* and *Edward Davis's*  
 1722. *Land* being the same, it is unnecessary to add to what has  
 April. been said in the History of the Buccaneers \*. The belief that  
 Edward Davis and Roggewein saw one and the same Island,  
 must continually strengthen, unless it shall be contradicted  
 by fresh evidence.

Roggewein's ships were driven from *Paaschen* by a strong  
 West wind, which kept them some days 'on various courses,'  
 but always inclining towards the West. On the 21st of the  
 month, they were still in latitude 27° S, and by the reckoning  
 in the *Dort* narrative, their distance from the coast of *Chili* was  
 650 leagues. Shortly after, the SE trade-wind came upon  
 them 'suddenly and with impetuosity,' and they steered  
 towards the WNW. On the 27th, their latitude was 23° 2' S,  
 and they continued on the course just mentioned. Behrens  
 relates, 'We had sailed 800 leagues since leaving *Paaschen*  
 May. ' *Island* without seeing any land, till at length, in 15° 30' S, we  
 An Island ' discovered a low sandy Island with a lagoon in the middle,  
 discovered. ' which made some on board believe it to be the *Honden Island*  
 ' of Schouten, and therefore no endeavour was made to ap-  
 Is named ' proach it. For my part, I was of opinion that le Maire and  
 Carls-hof. ' Schouten had not seen this Island, and I have named it  
 ' *Carls-hof*, which signifies *the Court of Charles*. It is about  
 ' three leagues in circuit, and its situation is 15° 45' S lati-  
 ' tude and 280° longitude.'

The 280 in the above quotation is evidently an erroneous  
 number; for the longitude being reckoned Eastward from the  
 meridian of *Teneriffe*, must decrease in sailing Westward; and  
 accordingly Behrens in his chart has placed *Carls-hof*, but  
 with the name of *Honden Eil*, in longitude 235°; which is  
 36° to the West from *Paaschen Island*. This would seem short  
 of the longitude which a distance of 800 German leagues would  
 give, if allowance was not to be made for their having sailed  
 on different courses.

As

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\* p. 208.

As they passed on, leaving *Carls-hof Island*, the wind became unsteady, veering round to the SW, which was regarded as the effect of being in the neighbourhood of land. On the night of the following day, which according to the *Dort* Relation was the 20th of May, the African Galley, being the headmost and lookout vessel, found herself all at once among low Islands and rocks, and so near that she could not save herself from running on them; but she fired gun after gun, which gave timely warning to the other ships. The Admiral's ship, the *Arens*, tacked and stood clear of the danger: when at the nearest, she tried for soundings, but found no bottom. Captain Bauman, in the *Tienhoven*, which was the farthest off when the signal guns gave the alarm, stood on and placed his ship as near as he could with safety, to the stranded ship, to be at hand more effectually to give assistance. A boat was also sent from the Admiral, who from the darkness of the night and the distance at which he kept, did not know the extent of the misfortune. The African Galley had grounded high, and was moreover closely jammed between two rocks, so that there was no hope of disengaging her; all the endeavours were therefore bent on saving the crew.

The Island against which they had run, was inhabited. The report of the guns was the first notice the natives had of the approach of strangers, and the noise made by the crew of the wrecked vessel, directed them to the spot. They lighted fires in several places, and came down in crowds to the shore. The *Hollanders*, being apprehensive that advantage would be taken of their distress, fired among them and made them retire. The weather was so favourable that none of the crew of the Galley lost their lives; but a seaman belonging to the *Tienhoven*, who went to their assistance, by some accident was drowned.

The next morning when it was light, the *Arens* and *Tienhoven* found themselves in a great measure encircled with land, there being four large Islands and many small Islets and rocks in sight, so that they could not perceive by what route they came into that situation.

CHAP. 14.

1722.

May.

20th.

Other Islands discovered, and the African Galley wrecked.

The Schaadelyk, or Pernicious Islands,

**PART II.** situation. 'It took us five days,' Behrens says, 'to get out of this dangerous perplexity into a clear sea.' During all which time, the Admiral remained in ignorance of the fate of the African Galley and her people. When the two remaining ships were in safety, the crew of the African Galley was divided between them; excepting a Quartermaster and four seamen, who after their ship ran aground, had mutinied against the officers, and from dread of punishment, would not accompany their shipmates to the 'Tienhoven, but concealed themselves in the woods. The Admiral sent a detachment under the command of Behrens to endeavour to take these deserters; but they had furnished themselves with fire-arms, and from the thickets fired upon the party sent after them. They were nevertheless approached near enough for conference, and promised pardon if they would return to the ships; but they preferred remaining in a strange land inhabited by uncivilized people, to trusting to the promises or mercy of their countrymen, and the boats returned without them, but well laden with 'herbs, fruits, muscles, and pearl oysters,' which were found in abundance.

1722.  
May.  
The  
Schaadelyk,  
or  
Pernicious  
Islands.

These Islands were extremely low and in parts overflowed; the borders were covered with trees, among which were many of the cocoa-nut. The *Dort* Relation gives the latitude among them 14° 41' S. Behrens says, 'All these Islands are situated between the 15th and 16th degree of South latitude, and 12 German leagues Westward of *Carls-hof*. They were estimated to be each four or five leagues in circuit. That on which the African Galley was wrecked, we named *Schaadelyk* (*Pernicious*;) two others were named *Twee Broeders* (*Two Brothers*;) and the fourth, *de Zuster* (the *Sister*.)' Afterwards in the narratives, the name *Schaadelyk* is applied to the four Islands collectively. The inhabitants were thought a stouter people than those of *Paaschen Island*. They had good canoes, and vessels furnished with sails and cables. No safe anchorage being found, Roggewein sailed on Westward.

The

The next morning at break of day they had run eight leagues towards the West from the *Schaadelyk Isles*, when the people of the *Tienhoven*, which was now the look-out ship by night and sailed ahead of the Admiral, saw land not half a mile distant, so that if daylight had not shewn them their situation, they would in all probability have been ashore. The imminence of the danger, so immediately after the loss of the *African Galley*, caused a tumult among the seamen in both the ships, and they demanded to return homeward, or that the Admiral would engage for their wages being paid to them if the ships should be lost. *Rogge-wein* thought their demand reasonable, and bound himself by oath to make good their wages, whatsoever might happen.

CHAP. 14  
1722.  
May.  
25th.  
Daageraad,  
or Aurora  
Island.

This Island was named *Daageraad* or *Dageröth*, which signifies the Red of the Morning, or Daybreak. The *Hague* edition of *Behrens* being in the French language, gives the name *Aurore*. It was about four leagues in circuit, and covered with trees. No anchorage was found, and the ships passed on.

Towards evening of the same day they came in sight of another Island, which, in allusion to the time of the day when it was first seen, was named, *Abend-roth* (in the *Hague* edition, *Véspre*.) It was reckoned to be about twelve German leagues in circuit, was low, but well covered with trees.

Abend-roth  
or Véspre  
Island.

Only two of the many low Islands which have been discovered in the *Pacific Ocean* will accord in extent and situation with the *Abend-roth* of *Roggewein*; those are the *Sonder grondt* and *Vlieghen*, discovered by *Schouten* and *le Maire*. The greater longitude of *Vlieghen Island* from *Paaschen*, and the Islands which are known near it to the ESEward, are good grounds for believing *Abend-roth* to be *Vlieghen Island*; and that the *Palisser's Isles* of the present charts are the *Schaadelyk*, or *Pernicious Isles*; of which opinion were both Captain *Cook* and *M. Fleurieu*. The *Dort* Relation says, 'On the 25th of May we passed *Vlieghen Island*, discovered by *Schouten*.' It might have been doubted of which of the two Islands seen on the 25th this was said, if the small size of *Daageraad* did not make it applicable only to *Abend-roth*.



## PART II.

More modern voyages have brought to light some interesting circumstances connected with this part of Roggwein's navigation \*.

## Roggwein

\* Commodore Byron, in 1765, fell in with two low inhabited Islands in 14° 30' S latitude, and in longitude between 145° and 145½° West from Greenwich. He landed on the Easternmost, and relates, 'Our people, in rummaging some of the huts, found the carved head of a rudder which had manifestly belonged to a Dutch long-boat, and was very old and worm-eaten. They found also a piece of hammered iron, a piece of brass, and some small iron tools, which the ancestors of the present inhabitants of this place probably obtained from the Dutch ship to which the long-boat had belonged.' This same Island was visited by Captain Cook in 1774. It is named by the natives, *Tiookea*. The want of Islands in its neighbourhood to correspond with the number and situation of the *Schaadelyk Islands*, shew that this was not the Island on which the African Galley was cast, nor one of the *Schaadelyk Isles*; but from the head of the rudder and the other things found there, it may be supposed not very distant from them. Tupia, the native of the *Society Isles*, who embarked with Captain Cook intending to visit *Europe*, made a chart of all the Islands of which he had any knowledge or information, according to his own conceptions unaided by European instruction. A copy of this chart was published with Dr. I. R. Forster's *Observations made during his Voyage with Captain Cook*. Tupia has placed in it, North Eastward from *Otaheite*, an Island named *Oanna*, and on his authority it is noted to be 'a low Island on which a ship was wrecked, and some men perished.' *Oanna* accordingly is the Dutch *Schaadelyk*; but further assistance from native authority is requisite for marking which among the many Islands in that part of the *South Sea* is *Oanna*. Dr. Forster supposed the Island named by Commodore Byron *Prince of Wales's Island*, which is the *Vlieghe Island* of le Maire and Schouten, to be *Oanna*; but this supposition must be rejected, on account of the magnitude of *Vlieghe Island*.

Later discoveries, by the Spaniards, corroborate the information given by Tupia. In 1772, the Viceroy of *Peru*, Don Manuel de Amat, sent two ships 'to make an exact survey of the many Islands in the *Pacific Ocean*.' They saw a great number of Islands, and visited *Otaheite*, whence they took two natives, who were carried to *Lima* and baptised by the names of Tomas Pauto and Manuel Amat. In 1774, another voyage was made from *Peru* to the Islands, and two Missionaries were sent, with the two natives. A house was built at the smaller division of *Otaheite* for the Missionaries, whom the *Eries* or Chiefs took under their protection. Before the Spanish ships departed, the Commander called a meeting of the Chiefs, to whom he described the grandeur of his Sovereign, and informed them of his right to all the Islands. 'The natives,' the account says, 'demonstrated great complaisance, and by acclamation acknowledged the King of *Spain* King of *Otaheite* and all the Islands.' Whereupon, the Spanish Captain informed them, that if they preserved their fidelity and fulfilled their promises, they should be frequently visited by the ships of the King of *Spain*.

The Captain of one of the ships died, and was buried on shore. In January 1775, the ships departed to return to *Peru*. They took two other Islanders with them. Thomas Pauto, it appears, had profited little from the instruction given him; he rather

Roggewein continued his course Westward, keeping between the latitude of 15 and 16 degrees, and the day after passing *Abend-roth* according to Behrens, but on the 29th by the *Dort* narrative, came to a groupe of Islands, all of beautiful appearance, situated, according to Behrens, 25 German leagues to the West of the *Schaadelyk Isles*. They were named *Irrigen* or the *Labyrinth*, because the ships having got in among them, were obliged to make many tacks and changes of course before they could get clear from them again. It was thought dangerous to anchor; and though smokes were seen, none of the inhabitants came to the shores to make signs of invitation.

CHAP. 14.

1722.

May.

The  
Labyrinth  
Islands.

Behrens says, these Islands are six in number, and taken together may have an extent of thirty leagues. If this is correct, they must be Islands of considerable magnitude to make a labyrinth, occupying so large a space. The *Dort* Journalist describes the *Labyrinth* to consist of a number of rocks and islands, among which they passed. He gives the latitude when among them, 15° 17' S, and the longitude 224°, which is 44 degrees West of his longitude of *Paaschen Island*.

Leaving the *Labyrinth Isles*, Behrens says, 'Sailing always towards the West; at the end of some days, we had sight of an Island of good appearance and elevated; situated in latitude 16 degrees, and about 12 German leagues in circuit.' The author of the *Dort* Relation dates their coming to this Island to be on June the 1st, and gives for its situation, latitude 15° 47', and longitude 224; which longitude is the same as was before given by him for the *Labyrinth*, and

Verquikking,  
or  
Recreation  
Island.

June.  
1st.

rather chose to profit by his native habits, for he robbed the Missionary House and absconded.

This account is given in an Appendix to a Description of the Province and Archipelago of *Chiloe*, published in the Spanish language, in 1791, by P. Pray P. Gonz. de Agueros. In addition to what has been above noticed, the same book contains a Memoire of the information obtained from Indians of the most distinction in *Otaheite*, concerning Islands in their neighbourhood. The 11th Island in a list which is given, is '*Oaña*, small and low (*chica y baxa*) with reefs; inhabited, 'abounding in cocoa-nuts, yams, dogs, and fish; and has pearls.' A distinct ascertainment of *Oaña* appears to be attainable with little difficulty, and may be soon expected.

PART II.  
 1722.  
 June.  
 Verquikking,  
 or  
 Recreation  
 Island.

and makes it probable that one of the two is a mistake. The names and Islands on this part of Behren's Chart are in too much confusion to be appropriated to each other with certainty.

This Island being elevated land, may be considered of a different character from any which they had seen since they left *Paaschen Island*. Anchoring ground was not immediately found, and Roggewein sent two boats to the shore, with twenty-five armed men in each. The inhabitants, regarding the Hollanders as an invading enemy, assembled armed with pikes, and when the Hollanders drew near, advanced into the water to oppose their entrance; but the fire of musketry obliged them to retreat, and the Hollanders landed. The natives soon after, on signs of friendship being made to them, gave up all appearance of hostility and approached peaceably. They brought cocoa-nuts which they exchanged for trifles, and they assisted the Hollanders in filling twelve sacks with herbs like water-cresses, for their sick.

2d. The next day a stronger party was sent from the ships than on the preceding. On landing, they made presents of looking-glasses and beads to the person who appeared to be the chief among the natives, who received them with a degree of indifference and with symptoms of disdain, that indicated nothing of welcome. Cocoa-nuts, however, were presented to the Hollanders in return, and the native women seemed in admiration at the whiteness of their complexion. The Hollanders then filled about twenty sacks with herbs; which having done, they advanced up a valley, with the intention to take a view of the country. Behrens relates, 'we climbed up steep rocks by which this valley is inclosed, and some of the Islanders led the way; but they soon left us, and at the same time we saw some thousands of natives coming out from among the crevices of the mountains. The Chief of the Islanders made signs to us with his staff that we should not advance farther.' According to the *Dort Relation*, they were met by a grey-headed old man, who endeavoured by many signs and motions to prevail on them

them to return back ; and to make them understand the danger of advancing, he took up a stone and threw it down before him. The Hollanders paid no regard to his signs and admonitions, but proceeded onwards. The Chief thereupon made a signal, and immediately a shower of large stones came upon them from all quarters, by which several were lamed and wounded. This was answered by musketry, and at the first discharge many of the natives fell, their Chief, it is said, being of the number. ‘ They did not for this take to flight, but continued to throw stones at us with greater fury than before, so that we were almost every one wounded. We retired under cover of some rocks, from behind which we fired with such effect as to kill many of the Islanders. Their obstinacy, nevertheless, was so great that we could not make them fall back, and we were necessitated to retreat to our boats as well as we could, without being able to avoid new showers of stones. We had some men killed in this action, and the wounds which many of our people received, though at first but of small consideration, became in the end mortal in consequence of the scurvy with which the crews were affected.’

Both the Journalists break out in reproaches against the Islanders, whom they accuse of acting treacherously towards them ; but nothing could be more open or more openly conducted, than were both the intrusion of the Hollanders, and the opposition of the natives to their intrusion.

On account of the salutary herbs found at this Island, it was named *Verquikking*, which signifies Refreshment (in the *Hague* edition rendered *Recreation* ;) at the same time, the loss sustained in the encounter with the natives made such an impression on the crews of the ships, that in the sequel of the voyage if it was proposed at any time to land on an inhabited Island, no one volunteered his service.

The inhabitants of *Recreation Island* were robust, well made, active, and dexterous. They had long black shining hair, which they dressed with the oil of cocoa-nuts. They were painted or marked

**PART II.** marked over the body in like manner as the natives of *Paaschen*  
 1722. Island. The men wore a kind of net-work round their waist.  
 June. The women were wholly covered with a stuff soft to the touch,  
 Recreation and had ornaments of pearl-shell.  
 Island.

Roggewein anchored at *Recreation Island*, and Behrens remarks, that 'there was not much security for the ships, 'because the bottom was bad.'

This *Verquikking*, or *Recreation Island*, of Roggewein's, from the description given of its size, and its being elevated land, agrees more nearly with the *Ulietea* and *Otaha* of the *Society Islands*, (which being inclosed within the same reef, might appear or have been considered as one Island) than with any other land known to Europeans that will accord in situation with the account given of this part of Roggewein's track\*.

Admiral Roggewein now called a Council of his Officers, and communicated to them that by his Instructions he was directed, on arriving at the longitude in which they then were, if they should not have discovered some country which was thought worth taking and keeping possession of, to return homeward; on which matter he demanded their opinion and advice. The majority of the council and the Admiral coincided in opinion, and the result was a declaration, that having sailed so far in search of strange lands, and having much decreased their stock of provisions, it was not possible for them to sail back by the way they had come, and that they were under the necessity of going home by the *East Indies*. The Admiral remarked that as the number of their sick continually increased, it would be neither charitable nor wise to sacrifice more of their men in making discoveries; 'for if they should unfortunately again

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\* The supposition above mentioned receives support from a circumstance which is related in the explanations given with Tupia's chart. The Island designed by Captain Cook under the name *Ulietea* Dr. Forster has called *Oraietea*. It is said, 'Oraietea is a high Island; and Tupia reported that in his grandfather's time a 'friendly ship had been there.' It is true that Roggewein's visit merited not the epithet friendly; but if by 'ship' was meant a European ship, no other expedition known can be found to supply the fact.

again lose twenty men,' there would not be enough left to navigate the ships. By 'return' is generally understood retrogression; and they could not well say 'returning' by the *East Indies*, but it is ingeniously attempted in the *Hague* translation to assimilate the determination of the Council with the letter of the instructions, by the substitution of the word *repatrier*.

CHAP. 14.

1722.

The *Dort* narrative says, 'after our adventure with the roguish Savages at *Verquikking*, no delay was made there, but we got again under sail.'

It is here necessary to notice that in the sequel of the navigation, the numbers in Behrens' narrative are erroneous, almost without an exception, the dates as much as the latitudes and longitudes: and the course given in his narrative differs from the track marked in his chart. The *Hague* translation says, 'On quitting *Recreation Island*, we directed our course towards the NW. The third day (*troisieme jour*) after our departure we were in latitude 12° S, and longitude 290°. We discovered then all at once, many Islands.' The word *troisieme* appears to have been mistakenly printed at this part instead of *treizieme*. At the departure from *Recreation*, the *Dort* Relation again gives a longitude 'according to the reckoning 224° 18';' and proceeds, 'On the 12th of June, we were in latitude 15° 16' S, and longitude 205° 8'. On the 14th, we discovered two Islands: on the 15th we came in sight of an Island about seven German miles in length, in latitude 13° 41' S, and longitude 215°.' Reckoning the 2d day of June to be the day they sailed from *Recreation Island*, the discovery of the two Islands as mentioned in the *Dort*, will be found to have been on the thirteenth day of their sailing. One of the two longitudes last quoted from the *Dort* narrative, is evidently a mistake; most probably the 215°.

Bauman  
Islands.

These Islands were interspersed with hills and vallies, and afforded a delightful prospect. Some of them, Behrens says, were ten, fifteen, and as much as twenty German miles in circuit. They were named *Bauman Islands* after the Captain of the *Tienhoven*, by whom they were first seen. 'All the coasts of

of

## PART II.

1722,  
June.Bauman  
Islands.

of these Islands have good anchoring ground.' Roggewein's ships anchored in depth from 15 to 20 fathoms.

On the first approach of the ships, natives from the Islands had gone to them in boats neatly made, and decorated with curiously carved figures. They exchanged fish, cocoa-nuts, and plantains for beads and other trinkets. The Islands appeared fully peopled, the shores being thronged. The men had bows and arrows. In one of the canoes which went to the ships, was seated a man to whom the other Islanders shewed great respect. By his side sat a woman 'young and white;' and many canoes surrounded this canoe to guard it. Behrens calls the complexion of the natives of these Islands, 'white, no other ways differing from that of Europeans than by their skins being tanned by the heat of the sun. They appeared to be good people, lively in their manner of conversing, gentle in their deportment towards each other, and in their manners nothing was perceived of the savage. They had not their bodies painted or marked like the people of the Islands we had before discovered. They were clothed from the waist downwards with fringes and a kind of silken stuff artificially wrought. They had large hats to protect them from the sun, and round their necks they wore strings of odoriferous flowers. Their lands were separated by inclosures; and it must be acknowledged that this was the nation the most civilized and honest of any that we had seen among the Islands of the *South Sea*. They were charmed with our arrival amongst them, and received us as divinities. And when they saw us preparing to depart, they testified much regret.'

By stopping a week or two, Roggewein might have re-established the health of the crews; but he and his principal Officers were afraid that the Eastern monsoon would be past before they could reach the *East Indies*; for which reason, they remained here but a short time, and were so apprehensive of trusting themselves among the natives of strange countries, that they took up their anchors and departed from these Islands without landing upon them.

If

If the longitude given in the *Dort* narrative on the 12th of June, (205° 8') is admitted to be a right statement of the reckoning, the *Bauman Islands* will be found to correspond with the Islands seen by M. Bougainville in 1768, and named by him *Isles des Navigateurs*, as exactly in situation, as they do in the descriptions given of their size and appearance.

CHAP. 14.

1722.

June.

The next day after leaving *Bauman Islands* they saw two Islands, which were supposed to be the *Cocos* and *Verrader's* Islands of Schouten and Le Maire. One of the Islands was high and judged to be about eight leagues in circuit. The other appeared much lower, was a reddish land without trees; Behrens adds, 'and extending, according to our conjectures, to 11° S latitude;' but he acknowledges that they passed at too great a distance to speak positively of either of the Islands.

Two  
Islands.

This part of Roggewein's track was too far North for him to have seen *Cocos* and *Verrader's Islands*. The high land most probably was the *Horn Islands*; and the lower land *Wallis's Islands*.

The lands seen during the remainder of Roggewein's navigation across the *South Sea* are very vaguely mentioned. 'In a short time after' seeing the Islands supposed to be *Cocos* and *Verrader*, they discovered two Lands of great extent. They named one *Tienhoven*, the other *Groningen*; and some on board doubted if *Groningen* was not continent. *Tienhoven* appeared verdant, covered with trees, and of moderate elevation. It was coasted during a whole day without discovering its termination; and is described extending in a semi-circular direction towards *Groningen*, so that it was not known for certain whether they were not both one land; 'perhaps,' says Behrens, 'a part of the *Terra Australis*; but islands are found in this neighbourhood which are 150 miles in circuit.' Meaning, no doubt, *San Christoval* and the *Salomon Islands*.

Tienhoven  
and  
Groningen.

Fear of the natives, and impatience to arrive in *India*, made Roggewein run past this land without stopping, or trying for anchorage;



**PART II.** anchorage; though the scurvy and dysentery raged among  
 1722. the ships crews in so dreadful a manner, that 'three, four,  
 July. 'and sometimes five men, were buried in the sea in a day.'  
 Some of these unfortunate men, in their last hours, were exasperated to a state of desperation at seeing a fruitful land so near them, without obtaining relief, and expired in a delirium of rage from a conviction that they fell victims to the insufficiency of their Commander.

New  
 Britain.

On the 18th of July, they came in sight of the coast of *New Britain*. Here they landed at a part inhabited by people of a copper or olive colour, who had long black hair. The natives appeared hostile; 'but,' says Behrens, 'we were in such 'extreme distress, and our provisions on board so decayed 'and rotten, that we had to choose between certain death, 'and exposing ourselves to the Indians in seeking for refreshment.'

August.  
 Arimoa  
 and Moa  
 Islands.

Roggewein was now in a track which had been sailed over by Le Maire and Schouten and by Tasman, and he was careful not to deviate from it. He anchored near the small Islands *Moa* and *Arimoa*, where he hoped refreshments might be procured without danger.

The inhabitants of these Islands, with a ready confidence, which no doubt was inherited and had its source in the favourable impressions left of Europeans with the ancestors of the present race by Schouten and Le Maire, and by Tasman, immediately flocked to the ships in their small canoes, carrying fruits and cocoa-nuts to traffic for European commodities. Roggewein thought it an act of good generalship, and no disgrace, to rob these people of provisions which he might have procured at a trifling expence by traffic. Without any quarrel having arisen, he suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, landed a large party of his men on one of the Islands, who fired on the natives and cut down the cocoa-nut trees as the easiest method of getting at the nuts. The booty obtained by this warlike exploit was 800 cocoa-nuts, some pomegranates and plantains.

Pursuing

Pursuing his course Westward, he passed between the NW CHAP. 14.  
part of *New Guinea* and *Gilolo*. Some time in the month of 1722.  
September he made the coast of *Java*, and anchored in the September.  
road of *Japara*, where the Dutch East-India Company had a  
fort, which Admiral Roggewein saluted with his cannon. The  
Cominander of the fort allowed the sick people to be landed  
from the ships, and the ships to be supplied : at the same time,  
he sent notice to the Governor General at *Batavia*, of the arrival  
of Dutch ships not belonging to the East-India Company.

In the course of the voyage, from their outset to this time,  
they had lost, besides the men killed in engagements with the  
Indians, seventy men by sickness; and here they landed between  
twenty and thirty sick men.

Whether Roggewein's going to the *East Indies* was pre-  
meditated, or accidental, as he had not obtained exemption  
from penalty, nor license from the Dutch East-India Company,  
it should have been especially his care to have kept clear of  
the Company's settlements.

The Governor General, M. Zwaardekroon, a man extolled  
in the history of the Dutch Governors of *India* for the  
politeness of his manners, on being informed of the arrival  
of Roggewein at *Japara*, sent orders that he should be  
assisted in every thing he could desire, and recommended to  
him to come with the ships to *Batavia*. After resting a  
month at *Japara*, Roggewein sailed for *Batavia*, and as soon October.  
as his ships were at anchor in *Batavia Road*, he put off Roggewein  
in his boat to pay his respects to M. Zwaardekroon; but arrives at  
before he got half way to the shore, he was met by the fiscal Batavia.  
largely attended, who told him he must return, and announced  
to him the arrest and seizure of the ships. In fine, the ships His ships  
and their cargoes were condemned as forfeited to the Company, seized and  
and sold by public auction. The crews were distributed among condemned.  
the homeward-bound ships.

In the sequel, the Dutch West-India Company made appeal  
to the States General against the seizure and condemnation of  
their

PART II

their ships. The case of Roggewein differed widely from that of Le Maire and Schouten, who had discovered and accomplished a passage to the *East Indies* by a route which had not been prohibited. The Memorial of the West-India Company, however, set forth that this voyage was fitted out not so much with a view to their own profit as to the advantage of the public; that incredible hardships had forced the ships to the *East Indies*; and that immediately on their arrival at *Batavia*, they had been seized and condemned without a hearing. On the part of the East-India Company, it was argued, that the Company were warranted in maintaining the exclusive clauses in their charter; that Admiral Roggewein's ships were licensed to make discoveries within the bounds assigned to the West-India Company, and instructed to return through the *Strait of Magalhães*; and that they had not complied with their instructions. The West-India Company, it was remarked, might have foreseen a probability that their ships would be necessitated to return by the *East Indies*, and they had neglected to apply to the East-India Company for their license.

The arguments, or the superior influence, of the West-India Company prevailed with the States General, who decreed that the East-India Company should make full restitution or compensation, and that they should pay the seamen of Roggewein's ships their wages to the time of their return to *Holland*.

End of Vol. IV.







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2







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